# OBJECTS

INTERESTING TO THE

# ENGLISH NATION.

BY

*ELIAS HABESCI.*

DEDICATED TO

*JOHN GRIFFITH, Esq.*

CHIEF AT SURAT.

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*——————————Medus ademit.*
*Assyrio; Medoque tulit moderamina Perses;*
*Subjecit Persen, Macedo; cessurus et ipse,*
*Romanis.——————————*

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# ERRATA—VOL. I.

*The following list of errata consists entirely of such words as altered the sense from that of the original, the characters not having been clearly written in the* MSS. *The reader may discover a few typographical errors, for the amendment of which we trust to his own care, and hope, that when he recollects, the different circumstances which unite to prevent correct printing in this country, he will pardon, what the most sedulous attention did not enable us to prevent:*

Page xii—of the Dedication for *Manilla*, leg. Mallua.
xiii—of the same—for *Manilla*, leg. Mallua.

Page 15—instead of "the *Chinese* begin by taking away the rudder, sails, yards, and ammunition," read "the Chinese do not take away at Wampoo, as at Rangoon, the rudder, sails, & ammunition, but the merchandize alone."
Page 35—for *Geneva*, leg. Genoa.
48—for *Millions*, leg. Thousands.
122—for *Nitab*, leg. Nilab.
188—for *five or six*, per cent. leg. five or six hundred.
Page 222—for *Phenicians*, in the 3d line, leg. Physicians.
222—for *Phenicians*, in the 18th line, leg. Physicians.
Page 224—for *Valteline*—leg. Vallais.

# ERRATA.—VOL. II.

Page 29—for *Hindoos*, leg. Indian.
41—for *preparation*, leg. proportion.
44—for *treasures*, leg. revenues.
111—for *little*, leg. title.
112—for *Aloor*, leg. Aloar.
114—for *Nadjat*, leg. Nadjuf.
146—for *land*, leg. law.
153—for *Cicena*, leg. Ciuna.
154—for *a league*, leg. a cosse.
157—for *roses*, leg. bananiers, mangliers.
161—for *tobacco*, leg opium.
183—for *Broda*, leg. Brodra.
186—for *weak*, leg. weak.
214—for *in the neighbourhood of Dacca*, leg. Bethia.
226—for *was a Christian, or Musselman*, leg. was a Christian? a Musselman?
Page 226—line 6th, for *neither Armenian*, leg. neither Musselman.
Page 226—line 7th, for *propogated*, leg. propagated.
229—for *Jamancens*, leg. Samaneens.
231—line 7th, for *Gumnosophists*, leg. Gymnosophists.
Page 231—line 7th, for *Catanue*, leg. Calanus.
231—line 19th, for *you are not ignorant*, leg. you are ignorant.
Page 239—for *Prophets*, leg. Apostles.
243—for *Hippo*, leg. Hippone.
256—for *ditto*, leg. ditto.
257—for *non autem*, leg. nos autem.
265—for *a separate nation*, leg. different

# OBJECTS INTERESTING
TO THE
# ENGLISH NATION.

## *VOLUME II.*

WHEN Queen Elizabeth gave the Charter to the East-India Company, and James the First confirmed it, they could not imagine it would one day become what it is now. The nation was discontented, and reclaimed its rights, in its opposition to the concession of new and exclu[illegible]ileges, in favour of a small portion of in[illegible]s; and reproached the King for consulting the interest of a few, at the expence of the public weal. It endeavoured to demonstrate, that exclu-

sive

ſive Companies could not trade as advantageouſly for the country, as individuals; and wiſhed to make them appear guilty of treaſon, by producing reaſons to prove, that their intention was entirely ſubverſive of the general intereſts of the nation, ſince monopoly enhanced the objects of their paſſive commerce, and thereby rendered them able to lower, in their own favour, and at their own pleaſure, the prices of the articles of their export trade. Several other reaſons were produced, to hinder the conceſſion of new privileges, or the formation of a new Company.

THE example of that of Hudſon's Bay, in ſtrict truth may convince people, of the ſolidity of the complaints of the nation. It was Charles the Second, who in the ſequel granted to that Company, without much reflection, the proprietorſhip of all the lands which ſurround that Bay, beſides adding the excluſive privilege of trading, in all the furs, that are found there in the greateſt abundance—At the end of the laſt century, its capital was already tripled, and would have been increaſed ſix fold, but for the misfortunes of war. The Parliament refuſed ſome years afterwards, the unlimited renewal of its Charter, after its expiration. The

nation,

nation, which had flattered itſelf, that nothing would be hid from it that regarded its intereſt, murmured at its adminiſtration, (without being able to unveil the myſtery,) confined in a part of the body of the proprietors of ſhares. At laſt the Parliament choſe to be informed of every thing, and the Company being obliged to unmaſk, it was proved, that it had always neglected the means proper, and neceſſary, for extending that trade; and by its voluntary and malicious negligence, had been the cauſe of another rival nation poſſeſſing themſelves, of the ſame trade, to the prejudice of Great Britain.

It was not *that* excluſive Company, alone, which enraged the nation. Thoſe formed under the denomination of African Companies, likewiſe, it plainly appeared enriched themſelves, but at the expence of the national general commerce. In comparing the copious treaty, made ſince the Parliament in 1697, rendered this trade free to every one, with the trade carried on by the excluſive Company before, we find a difference of 500 per cent in favour of the freedom of trade—all the others, the Southern and Levant, demonſtrate the ſame thing.

The Eaſt-India Company is perhaps the moſt prominent monument of the abuſe of the royal prerogative. This monument is, without doubt, glorious and brilliant; but at the ſame time furniſhes clear proofs, of the great difficulty of deſtroying and rooting up a monſtrous monopoly, when once eſtabliſhed, and that it has acquired ſolidity, either by the lapſe of time, or the numbers and quality of thoſe who carry it on. It was exactly in the beginning of the laſt century, that it firſt exerciſed its right of excluſion, ſo conteſted and deteſted by the nation; and its firſt capital, which was far ſhort of 400,000 pounds ſterling, entirely enſlaved the national right. The murmurs burſt out into complaints, and little was wanting to their ending in a general revolt. The exclamations of the nation were without effect, until the end of the laſt century: they then nearly flattered themſelves, that the monopoly was about to diſappear, for the Miniſters cauſed that hope to be entertained. But the nation was trifled with by the miniſtry; who wanting money, of which the nation were poſſeſſed, profited by the circumſtances of the general fermentation, and opening the trade by act of Parliament, to every

proprietor

proprietor of a new Company, it enſued, that inſtead of having one only, it had two Companies, whoſe coalition took place, in 1702, by the Charter of Queen Anne, and the new Company, had more empire, power, and glory, than the firſt. And while it does not refuſe lending money to Government, the nation in general is perſuaded, that it will continue to enjoy its excluſive privileges, even in the ſuppoſition that the King takes charge of all its poſſeſſion, as far as relates to the territorial Government; but the Company, which formerly was in no conſideration, but as to its operations in trade, is now a power, and that the greateſt in India—the extent of its dominions, the the number of its provinces, its territorial revenues, the number and excellence of its troops, its ſovereignty acknowledged, its political connexions, the weakneſs of other nations, all render it the arbiter of the peninſula; and there is ſcarcely any doubt but that it might poſſeſs, if it would, almoſt all that the Mogul Princes formerly enjoyed. People ſay, that its ſyſtem, fixed and invariable, is to make no conqueſts. An empire too large, whoſe frontiers are too remote from the centre, is difficult to preſerve—we ſhould not therefore attribute

bute to a change of ſyſtem, thoſe conqueſts which the Company make in different quarters, from time to time; but to neceſſity alone, which forces them to engage in war; and that it is for their protection they have brave troops and excellent generals, who know how to vanquiſh their enemies. Yet if we caſt an attentive eye on the Engliſh mode of living, in all the countries that belong to them, it appears that they themſelves doubt, whether they will retain them for ever, or a long time. They all ſeek to make their fortune proportioned to their rank, or even more, as ſoon as poſſible; and to return to Europe. We ſhould ſcarcely find in India a dozen Engliſh, who having made fortunes, remain there—ſeveral even among them, who might do ſo on account of being accuſtomed to the climate, yet are eager to depart. In the various diſtricts, which compoſe the dominions of the Company, or in the countries of its Allies, where circumſtances lead and fix ſome of the Engliſh, ſcarcely can we ſee the decent neceſſaries of life; and if they have been obliged to conſtruct a dwelling in any degree commodious, they think of its ſale, before even having begun to build it.

it. Really, it is only at the preſidency that we ſee publick and private ſtructures worthy of attention, and on which no coſt has been ſpared. The military cantonments of Berhampore, and Dinapore, have certainly coſt a large ſum, but they were neceſſary, and if they have not been a long time of uſe, have nevertheleſs, been uſeful to great numbers. But in Calcutta, where the ſeat of government is fixed, we behold grandeur, magnificence, and power, in the citadel, in the publick and private buildings, the foundations of benevolence, the generoſity of ſociety, and luxury. Whence it appears, they have much greater confidence in Calcutta than elſewhere—perhaps it derives its cauſe, either from the facility of an embarkation in caſe of need, or the protection of Fort William, whoſe ſituation notwithſtanding, could ſcarcely protect the city.

If this conjecture be falſe, to what then, muſt we attribute the eagerneſs of the Engliſh to return to Europe? their careleſſneſs, indifference and perhaps their averſion, for theſe countries, though they are even good, and pleaſant, where people live more ſplendidly (generally ſpeaking) than in Europe, aſtoniſh and make us reflect.

But

But the cauſe is ver⁻ evident—It is, that the Company, being the ſovereign maſters, (under the good will of the King) of the the vaſt extent of lands it poſſeſſes, all the Engliſh are there merely as ſtrangers. Scarcely can any one, who is not in its ſervice, remain without their permiſſion. The government can ſend him back, when it thinks proper, and is even ſuppoſed to be ignorant, of his being in the Company's territories. Scarcely is it permitted to a Company's ſervant, to buy as his own, a piece of ground, to build a houſe and offices; ſo that not being able to poſſeſs ought in land, they will never like the country, nor be a watch towards the ſoil, which is exactly what the Company wiſhes, its fears rendered ſtronger, by the recollection of what they have been formerly—they have endeavoured to employ the moſt effectual meaſures, to cauſe the Engliſh who are there, to preſerve the love and attachment for the mother country, in preference to India; and till this time they have perfectly ſucceeded. This policy may be viewed in a double aſpect: by the effects it produces now or may hereafter.

If the Company, exiſting in the greatneſs, to which it has now riſen, has reaſons ſufficiently to fear in theſe countries, ſome revolution, (were the individuals of the Engliſh nation proprietary poſſeſſors of lands) and if they think this inhibition to be the only mode, or the moſt powerful one to prevent it, in that cauſe, nothing can be ſaid. But if ſuch fears were not ſufficiently founded, and if permitting individuals to poſſeſs lands, there might be other means more agreeable and even ſurer to prevent any revolution taking place; in this caſe, we may hazard the aſſertion, that ſuch policy produces at preſent bad effects.

From the haughtineſs natural to the inhabitants of Great Britain, ſtrengthened and augmented, by education, example, and a liberal ſelf-opinion of the glories of the place of their birth, it would be an affront to tell an Engliſhman, that he is not one—thus he will ever be, ſuch as he is, wherever he be. Obſerve him in Europe; in the capitals and trading cities, he is ſolitary, and aſſociates with his countrymen; he is unconnected with, and ſeparate from others; he wiſhes, and expects, they ſhould know, he is an Engliſhman. Therefore ſhould he become a proprietor of land

in India, he would continue there, as good a patriot, and as attached to his mother country, as he is in England. But if the Company, the miniſtry, or the Parliament, chuſe to act violently towards him, impoſe taxes, be deſpotic, and overwhelm him with impoſts and by monopolies; in that caſe, this ſame pride, which renders him honoured in his nation, and flatters him with his country, urges and irritates him, and cauſes him to adopt violent reſolutions. Therefore, let us remove every kind of monopoly, and permit every Engliſhman, to trade according to cuſtoms, and received regulations—let them not be overcharged, nor taxed, except according to the laws of their country—avoid making them feel, that the inhabitants of England, want to riſe above them: Then the proprietorſhip of lands, being permitted, never need any revolution be feared from them—the interdiction in the property of the lands, of theſe countries, for the Engliſh, produces ſeveral ills, that in their turn produce others inceſſantly, the enumeration of which would form a long and tedious detail. It is a concatenation of great and ſmall evils, neceſſarily exiſting, in the ſtate of that privation—we ſhould hear the people

of

of the country (in all the diſtricts) ſpeak, they are as free with an European, who is not an Engliſhman, as they are ſilent, or diſſembling, with an Engliſhman; and tell the former, all they think. It has been ſaid, that only the great among them, have loſt by the change of the government, and that the people have gained. It is not thus that the generality of the people, of the country ſpeak, not even the proprietors, or rather the renters of lands. The Company, ſay they, exacts from us, ſums too large to be paid annually—for the lands, of which it leaves us the property, (which is but an apparent one,) do not produce what they did formerly, becauſe they are too much exhauſted, and we want hands. This ariſes from two cauſes—the one is the frequent mortalities; the other, the number of men employed for the civil and military ſervice of the Company, and of Engliſh individuals, who are multiplied; and the great emigration to countries, where Europeans, do not live. Such proprietors as thoſe, who have no longer the reſources that they had at the courts of their reſpective princes, tyrannize over the peaſants, who in turn ſave themſelves, and ſtrive to gain their livelihood, in the immediate ſervice of Europeans, or elſewhere.

But

But if the proprietors uſe not every means to obtain the ſum they ſhould pay to the Company, they are impriſoned, or their lands are ſold. Beſides what they ſhould pay to Government, they require ſomething for their appearance, and likewiſe to lay up, whether from principles of religion, or that they hope or fear another change of government. They are inclined to that fear or hope, by ſeeing, that the Engliſh, who are maſters of the countries, live there as if they apprehended it themſelves; and they are confirmed in this by obſerving, that they betake themſelves to Europe, as ſoon as they can, after having made their fortune in theſe countries. Throughout the Engliſh countries that I have paſſed over and examined, I have only found *one*, of thoſe they call Rajahs, that does not tyrannize in every manner over his peaſants, to whom on the contrary, he gives all the ſuccour and aſſiſtance in his power. It is the Rajah of Tikari, in the diſtrict of Gya, which is governed by the indefatigable *Mr. Seton*, who ſacrifices on his part, his trouble, time, and money, for the happineſs of the people whom he governs—happy, if he ſhould ſucceed in inſpiring them with the ſentiments of true felicity.

On other accounts we may be perſuaded, that the natives of the country never will attach themſelves to the Europeans. The *colour* alone, of both, is an obſtacle—our manners, and theirs—their religion, prejudices, and jealouſy, are others, perhaps inſurmountable. To form a contrary opinion from their words and ſalams, would be a falſe principle, and when in joining their hands they call themſelves your ſlaves, it is from hypocriſy, cuſtom, or fear, that they make all the grimaces they are ſo profuſe in exhibiting.

The mild and engaging manners that the greater part of Engliſh Gentlemen in place, uſe towards the people of the country, preſent other reflections.

If thoſe manners are uſed with the inferior natives, the great men deſpiſe them. The cauſe of that muſt be looked for in the diſtinction of caſts, which is one of the greateſt ſcourges of theſe countries: If they (the natives) are with the great, that is to ſay, with thoſe, whoſe fathers were of importance at the time of the former Government, or with thoſe who are Subaltern Officers, in the different diſtricts; they flatter and perſuade themſelves, that ſome degree of deference

ſhould

ſhould be paid towards them : in conſequence of thoſe opinions, they act the tyrant in their villages. Thoſe of the natives, who chooſe not, or could not, live in their country, at preſent ſubject to the Engliſh, and have fought refuge, in the eſtates of other Princes, continually reproach their countrymen who have remained, with the loſs of their caſt, and a kind of apoſtacy, in remaining in the countries that the Europeans govern; and fail not to heap on them odious and diſgraceful epithets. Notwithſtanding that in the laws of Mahomet, there are no caſts, yet the Muſſelmen of India behave, as if there were. They all communicate together, they obſerve what is uſual in all nations, that is to ſay, that each ſhould adhere to his own rank, according to his birth, or fortune; yet they take care to have no intercourſe with Europeans, in different matters, that they may not be deſpiſed by the community of Muſſulmen. Nevertheleſs there are ſome, who drink and eat with Europeans, but they take care to have their food carried from home, and notwithſtanding that precaution, they are deſpiſed by the reſt of their nation—and if they content themſelves with doing ſo, it is becauſe, it is all that is in their power. Thoſe even who have intercourſe

with

with Europeans here, would not do ſo in countries where the Europeans do not command. In Turkey and at Conſtantinople, all Muſſulmen eat publickly, at the tables of the Europeans,—they only require to be aſſured, that Pork conſtitutes no part of the food. Among the Muſſelmen, even at the Mufti's, the Europeans are invited very often, and eat all of the ſame diſhes.

Every where that I have been, I was permitted to go to the tribunals: I viſited them through curioſity. I have generally ſeen the writers themſelves, who ſurrounded the judge, making certain ſigns to each other, which did not mark, that they had much reſpect for him; and when the judge approached to ſpeak more cloſely to them, they made as if they were doing nothing, and drew back their clothes by degrees, that they might not be ſoiled by the contact of the judge. I leave it to others to judge, whether theſe prejudices can ever inſpire them with attachment, for the Engliſh—the extreme youth, and conſequently the ſuppoſed inexperience of thoſe who manage affairs, in like manner influences their averſion, and when the ignorance of their lan-

guage,

guage, is added, the averſion augments. Among ſo many things which are not pleaſant, it appears, that a certain degree of tenderneſs, which people have for them, may lead to diſagreeable conſequences. We know that the great man who has wiſhed to give or procure civil liberty to theſe people, has riſked loſing almoſt all the country. They are inſuſceptible of our finer ſentiments—if people ſpeak of juſtice and virtue to them, they comprehend neither; beſides, what is virtue and juſtice among Europeans, perhaps is not ſo with them. The definition of each, changes in the terms and ſignification amongſt them, and amongſt us. We continually ſee, that what wounds horribly our modeſty, is a matter very indifferent among them. The difference of our educations is the cauſe, and it will ever remain ſo.

It appears, that without being harſh or cruel, the Engliſh might be ſevere with the natives, and give them laws expreſsly for their uſe. The mixture of Engliſh and Muſſelmen laws, which they have preſcribed, irritates them in many things, but yet this irritation only ſuggeſts to them ſelf-flattery. They have ſtill too much liberty.—Oh! how deſirable it would be, that thoſe who govern

and

and adviſe, might make a tour incognito throughout the domains of the Company—what things would they not hear, which as things are, perhaps they never may know—Ah! who ſhould relate them, if the Government does not chuſe to urge its right of conqueſt, to the degree that all the other Europeans have—if they will not take from the Proprietors thoſe lands, which they found them legitimate poſſeſſors of, it is well.

The Engliſh ſhould always *perform* great actions, or not attempt them. If after the manner of our barbarous anceſtors, who emigrated from the north, to inundate and tear in pieces the Roman empire, the Engliſh deſire not to diſtribute the conquered lands, among the conquerors, at leaſt it is to be wiſhed, that it were permitted to individuals to buy, from thoſe who wiſh, and can ſell them—perhaps thence would be formed connexions and affinities in blood; both parties would approximate, and by degrees the victors and vanquiſhed, would form only one people; as the barbarians of the north have done in ſeveral parts of Europe.

ANOTHER article which offends greatly, is the want of police that prevails in many places. People rob, kill, aſſaſſinate, fight, and wound each other, and ſhed blood in the ſtreets, in the ſquares, houſes, and fields, on the high roads, and on rivers: it is rare that the judges are informed of theſe acts, and ſtill more ſo that juſtice takes place. Even ſeveral judges ſay (ſhrugging their ſhoulders) that the police is defective. Then ſay the natives, if the Engliſh collect the revenues of our countries, if the Engliſh trade, if they receive the cuſtoms, which were inſtituted only that they might poſſeſs funds neceſſary to render the roads ſafe, why are they infeſted by thieves, why do they not ſeek (at leaſt ſlightly) ſometimes to catch them, or prevent their depredations. Ah! we well ſee, that *our* individual advantage, is of little importance to them; they only want to make their fortunes, that they may ſoon go to Europe, and leave their places to others, who will act in the ſame manner.

THE change of coins in every province, is quite arbitrary—we exchange into ſmall money at a ſhroff's, who gives copper, reſerving for himſelf, ſomething, which appears juſt. But he always uſes

pretences

pretences, and ſays, that the piece of money has loſt of its weight—he retains this deficiency which is imaginary: if we give back to him the ſame piece of money which we have received, he generally takes it at a diſcount. If the ſhroff, on the contrary, himſelf gives the pieces of money, it is at the higheſt price he can obtain; beſides the pieces of copper that he gives, loſe their received value, at the ſame ſhroff's. This is but a ſhort detail, unknown perhaps by the great, rich, and powerful, and thoſe whoſe occupations prevent their being inſtructed on ſuch ſubjects. But thoſe ſmall details, are of very great conſequence in trade, from the number and rank of the people who engage in it, and the embarraſſment daily produced by theſe impoſitions.

THE price of articles neceſſary for daily conſumption, depends entirely on the caprice or avarice of the ſellers. Thoſe who are rich, or in place, generally pay for thoſe things cheaper than others; but if they pay as much as others, they do not afflict themſelves, ſince they have the means of getting reimburſed by the poor. But thoſe who have not the ſame reſources, ſuffer moſt; which

renders

renders them miſerable, unfortunate, thieves, nay worſe. The only reſource of this claſs of men, conſiſts in making others pay them more extravagantly, when they are employed by Europeans, and the Engliſh in particular; and if they have no employ, they ſteal; if we go to purchaſe any thing, even in the city of Calcutta, we ſhall immediately perceive, that the buyers have different prices for the ſame article—for the people of the country, for the Europeans in general, and a ſtill higher one for their maſters the Engliſh. This abuſe, which the police might remove, exiſts every where, nevertheleſs people know it, ſee it, and yet let it remain; and when we aſk the reaſon of their doing ſo, they anſwer by ſaying, that there is ſome defect in the police. The boats, with goods, that paſs along the Ganges, where it runs through the ſtates of the Nabob Vizier, and even elſewhere, meet obſtacles diſagreeable and dangerous, almoſt every where—one is obliged to have recourſe to fire-arms, to keep the armed boats at a diſtance, which pretend to come to viſit, or to collect a certain toll. It is eſtabliſhed and fixed, or it is not. The Zemindars ſay, that to entitle them to receive this tax,

they

they pay the Nabob Vizier a certain ſum.—if people recur to him, he anſwers that he will iſſue his orders, or has done ſo already; matters continue on the ſame footing, and the inconveniences augment. If we fire on theſe boats, and have the misfortune to wound or kill any one, the conſequences are too injurious to him who has fired, or given orders. If we ſuffer thoſe boats to approach, we dread their being robbers, and very often it is the caſe. In that caſe, if the merchant has been robbed or wounded, in vain he has recourſe to the juſtice of the Nabob; he does not obtain it. Alas! where ſhould he find it? he will hear, there is none, in all theſe ſtates. But if by misfortune he finds it, it comes, promiſed and yielded ſo ſlowly, and with ſo much embarraſſment, and is ſo expenſive, that he loſes much leſs by not ſeeking for it. Thus, force oppoſed to force, produces murders, which people conceal with addreſs, and ſucceſs.

The detachments of Sepoys which through any circumſtance, have no European officers with them at times, commit violence in their paſſage through the villages. To whom ſhould the poor villagers have recourſe? they know well, that juſtice

tice would indemnify them, but where, or to whom ſhould they complain? They are wronged, they ſuffer, and certainly do not bleſs their ſovereign. Theſe ſoldiers ſometimes extend their inſults even to the Europeans, exact money from them, and ſay, *they* are ſervants of the Company as well as others. So that accuſtoming themſelves by degrees to this ſport, they may in time form other habits, and uſe themſelves to other things. When a perſon complains, he is anſwered, "the affair ſhall be looked into; that there muſt be a regular trial; or he muſt addreſs himſelf to the Supreme Court."

We unfortunately find in ſome parts of the provinces, remote from the Preſidency, at different times, Engliſh who forget what they owe to themſelves, and to others, who trouble the ſociety of the ſpots where they live, and emancipate themſelves from all reſtraint, with regard both to the natives, and Europeans, who are not Engliſhmen. They beat even to the effuſion of blood; ſome perſons die in conſequence of blows received; they inſult creditable people, and the magiſtrates of the place have ſcarcely any authority over theſe Gentlemen

tlemen, notwithſtanding that they are in no reſpect in the Company's ſervice. Theſe abuſes are dangerous, happily they are not frequent; and the vices of individuals ſhould not be imputed to the community. And yet thoſe individualities (if I may uſe the expreſſion,) make a very ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the natives, who know not how to make juſt diſtinctions. This bad impreſſion is augmented, when they ſee them unpuniſhed; when they are told, that they can always infallibly get juſtice rendered to them, by tranſporting themſelves to the preſidency: they anſwer, that thoſe means place another obſtacle, between its being ever rendered to the poor and the ſhopkeeper, who have their ſubſiſtance on the ſpot. In fine they who, through other circumſtances cannot go there, and by ſo doing, baniſh themſelves during ſeveral months, from their houſes, will remain injured, and people may wrong them with impunity, ſince the magiſtrates of the place have no power over theſe perſons. This reflection reminds one, of a law which the ancient Romans, (in the time of their flouriſhing and conquering republic,) had promulgated as far as to the frontiers of their empire, and in the ſtates even of their allies, where there were

Romans

Romans, or Roman citizens by diploma. If a Roman committed any diſorder in thoſe countries, againſt one who was not ſo, it was permitted the latter to go to Rome, and cite his adverſary there. But the Roman ſenators, had ſcarcely ever occaſion to pronounce their judgment and render juſtice, for no one thought proper to depart from the banks of the Tigris, or thoſe of the Euphrates, or Orontes, to make by land and ſea a long paſſage, in order to demand at Rome, juſtice againſt a Roman. The ſituation of the magiſtrates, and every officer commanding in the provinces, has not conſideration enough, and their powers appear too much confined, for affairs to continue to improve. The Britiſh conſtitution, notwithſtanding, it is not perfect, is certainly the beſt which exiſts, for the happineſs of the people of Europe. Perhaps it would not be found excellent, were it to be generally adopted for theſe countries. The reſponſibility of miniſters, and magiſtrates, to the nation, is a thing neceſſary; and we eaſily perceive, that it would curb thoſe among them, who might be tempted to wiſh to abuſe their office, and the portion of executive and conſtitutional power that the nation

This Question of Exempting European from the jurisdiction of the Mahometan Courts by sending them to the Supreme Court Calcutta was attempted to be abrogated in 1857 when the English rose in mess agt. &c it was styled the Black Act. See a report of proceedings there anent at the end. A.G.

nation gives them; and it makes them remember without ceaſing, that the loweſt individual of the nation, can cauſe them to render an account of their public actions. This is very excellent, but if this method requires the ſame approbation, reſpecting the natives of theſe countries, and the Europeans, who are not in the immediate ſervice of the Company, a judgment muſt be formed from effects already produced.

A magiſtrate, judging a cauſe between two parties, one of them may be diſcontented, with the judge. The more cauſes there are, the greater number will there be, of diſcontented parties, all of whom united, will amount to ſeveral aggrieved—they aſſemble, ſpeak, write, and publiſh, that ſuch a judge is unjuſt, that he is corrupt. This is made public, and the reputation of the judge, becomes doubtful. It has been ſaid, that the natives of the country, are not ſuſceptible of certain ſentiments, which do honour to the Europeans, at leaſt according to the notions we have. In ſuch a caſe as the one mentioned, theſe enemies of the judge, unite, cabal, and ſeek the means of ruining him. It is perhaps the only caſe, in which they regret

no expence. They ſtudy his weakneſſes (who is the man that is without them?) they offer him bribes, and they deſtroy him as they wiſh. Frankneſs and ſincerity, ſerve as the means and cauſe of making him fall certainly into the ſnare. It is without doubt his fault, and he ſhould expiate it. His ſuperiors judge him, they either abſolve or condemn him. Yet the effects reſulting from this, in the minds of the Indians, are different from thoſe that the government has a right to expect. It can never be ſufficiently repeated, that their inſuſceptibility, of every mode of thinking and acting, are the ſtrongeſt and perhaps the only cauſes of it.

It is certainly indiſpenſable, that the natives of the country ſhould find juſtice, againſt their judge, if he is unjuſt to them; but if means may be found to render it them, without their being able to ſay, that they will drive him out of his place, it would appear better. For in like caſes, the people have neither in their hearts nor exterior, the conſideration, eſteem, and reſpect, that is due to a Magiſtrate, who repreſents a portion of the ſovereign. This great idea, this idea ſo univerſal in theſe days, in Europe,

Europe, of the equality of mankind, enters not, nor can enter their heads; wherefore they make a proportionable difference, and that difference ſtrikes them only in the exterior, and in the degree, that their religion and cuſtoms preſcribe to them. Never, in the groſs, will the Hindoos eſteem and reſpect the Europeans, when they can treat them with impunity. Let us obſerve in a city of a province, an inhabitant of ſome conſideration, when he paſſes in the ſtreets—they who ſee him, and are in their ſhops, or outſide, riſe immediately, and according to their cuſtoms, ſalute and pay him their reſpects. When an European paſſes, (even the Magiſtrates who command) no one ſtirs—they continue ſmoaking their Hookah and ſtaring at him; no one beſtows any mark of reſpect, they even laugh, and mean to evince by this exterior mark, what they feel within. This is not enough to them, but after they have paſſed, they make grimaces and ſport at them. This is a practice pretty conſtantly obſerved, every where.

THE Government, which is tolerant, meddles not, with the religion of the natives of India. But when the cuſtoms of that religion, are hurtful to the

the individuals of it, and to ſociety, what injury would there be in prohibiting them? When we talk of Government, we immediately comprehend, a power whatever it be, which rules and watches over the publick and private ſafety. If theſe attributes are wanting, would not the Government be defective, and the firſt duty of all Government is not practiced now there. Among the cuſtoms of ſome of the innumerable caſts, that are in the Engliſh poſſeſſions, there is one remarkable enough, and which appears to merit ſome reformation: when a perſon is very ſick, and is ſuffering, and does not die ſpeedily, his relations, carry him to the banks of the Ganges; they leave him on his bed in the air, which is of ſervice to him; he feels himſelf much better; ſpeaks and ſits up; his kindred preſs him to ſay the word *Ari-Ram*, their God. The ſick perſon ſays he is better, and will not pronounce it, becauſe he knows, that as ſoon as it eſcapes his lips, he will be thrown, bound hand and foot, into the river. When the relations are fatigued with the ſtubborneſs of the ſick man, and his repugnance to pronounce *Ari-Ram*, they throw by force, and with ſeveral repetitions, water of the

Ganges

Ganges into his mouth, and ſtifle him while yet living; they fry him a very little, and throw him into the river to fatten the fiſhes there, and corrupt the waters, which creditable people drink; and preſent a ſight, barbarous, revolting, and dangerous for the Engliſh, even the ſovereigns of the ſpots, where theſe murders are committed frequently and with impunity. I have been ſeveral times preſent at thoſe ſights, and I deteſted them, at the ſame time I wiſhed, with all my heart, that the government had pity for this portion of its ſubjects, inhumanly and religiouſly murdered by their neareſt relations. Every village has its chief—let Government order him to prevent thoſe murders, let them render *him* reſponſible, let them puniſh ſeverely and without remiſſion, both the chief who neglects his duty, and the barbarous murderers; there will then be reaſon to hope, that in ſome little time, this ſtain, abhorred and deteſted by ſenſible people, in as much as it is diſgraceful to the human ſpecies, would diſappear from all the domains of the Company.—Oh humanity! pardon me—thou art degraded in thy ſpecies, and by whom! And ſhall we call thoſe Hindoos, poliſhed people? And is it from them, that we expect

pect the fine ſentiments which adorn us? and is it for them that we wiſh to naturalize, the qualities we glory in, and leave them at the ſame time thoſe cuſtoms, that belong not to our ſpecies? and are theſe the monſters that we ſhould regard as our brothers, our equals?

YET we ſhall reſpect them as ſuch, when they feel, that it is not honourable to murder their relations: and we ſhall inceſſantly praiſe the government, that will no longer tolerate theſe acts, and no longer permit ſuch monſters to remain unpuniſhed.

THE population of the Engliſh poſſeſſions is not (as they generally ſay) ſo great as it was in the time antecedent to the preſent government, whatever be the cauſe of it.—It is to be wiſhed, that the government might uſe the ſtrongeſt means to encourage and augment it; and as ſuch increaſe is more particularly to be deſired in the claſs of the labourers, it is to that likewiſe the efforts ſhould be chiefly aimed. The extent of lands abandoned and fallow, in the Engliſh poſſeſſions, is very conſiderable—the productions of the lands being much diminiſhed, and neceſſarily

their

their prices augmented in proportion; a family, ſix in number, which could formerly live upon three or four rupees per month, cannot live now on eight. This checks population, or makes the people paſs into other ſtates. For the conſumption of articles of ſubſiſtance, the employment of men, and population, are the only active, creative, and preſerving principles, in a ſtate civilized, commercial and political. In proportion to the quantity of men that a ſtate poſſeſſes, we judge of its power and of the cultivation of its lands—and the more manufacturers, and hands to defend the ſtate, the more its power will be ſolid, and the people will thereby be leſs heavily charged with taxes; which will render it proſperous. But it is not always in the power of thoſe who rule ſocieties, to put in execution the means that conduct to felicity. For people are ſo ſubject to violent changes from nature and its effects, that it is almoſt impoſſible to foreſee or prevent them; a vaſtneſs of genius is neceſſary to imagine the ſyſtems moſt favourable to population, and one muſt be very fortunate to find all the circumſtances that aid them.

THE India trade, conſiſts in an exchange of money, and a ſmall quantity of European goods, for thoſe of the country. All the nations of Europe, that carry it on, have felt it to be diſadvantageous: and notwithſtanding the fortunes of ſome individuals, ſtates, do not gain. When America ſhall have had its mines exhauſted, and emptied its concealed treaſures, Europe will ſcarcely have any more ſilver to ſend to India. The inhabitants of theſe countries, conſuming ſcarcely any European merchandizes, it muſt follow, that the trade of Europe with India, will ceaſe, and the manufactures of Hindoſtan, will in conſequence, be no longer wanted in Europe. For theſe wants being only chimerical, Europe in general will follow the example of ſeveral of its nations, who have already, for a long time, prohibited the importation of India goods, or at leaſt will imitate them pretty nearly. Then the Companies will no longer exiſt, unleſs they have a territorial revenue in India, to ſupport the expence of the trade. But in ſpeaking of the Companies in this country, ſuch as it is at preſent, we may in general, and according to common

aſſent

aſſent, ſay, that it is not of ſuch conſequence, on account of its profits, as to reimburſe the conſiderable, and neceſſary expences. It is nevertheleſs ſaid, that it might be advantageous. What then, can be the cauſe of the failure? the Company has its agents every where, and the ſpots which furniſh good merchandizes, can certainly vend them, without any obſtacle. Private manufactures labour in like manner, under various diſadvantages, and yet it is aſſerted, that trade is not at the height that it might be; and we find that the profits are but trifling. The wages of labour are augmented almoſt three-fold for ſome time paſt in theſe countries; the expences to thoſe employed are great, at the ſame time, that the ſalaries they receive, are not ſufficient to procure for them in the ſame ſpace of time, the fortunes that people made here formerly. The rates of work, are augmented likewiſe in England, as are the prices of all its productions, in proportion to the increaſe of luxury, and taxes; and the exportation of its manufactures, in no reſpect anſwers to the importation of the Indian commodities. Hence ſprings the high price that is forcibly put on thoſe articles in England, and which

people cannot always obtain there; hence likewiſe the high prices which thoſe employed by the Company, are obliged to give in this country, and therefore, the frequency and number of private bankruptcies. But the Company which has great fixed revenues, and the monopoly of ſeveral particular articles, riſks hardly any thing. The excluſive trade, in ſeveral particular articles, is called by ſome people, a monopoly. Nations deteſt it, but that does not prevent its bringing to Companies very conſiderable profits. It is ſaid, that it is not only very uſeful to the Company, but that it does great hurt to all other nations in general, even to the people of this country, and in particular to the cultivators; at the ſame time, that people endeavour to demonſtrate, that liberty and right, are not at that high degree of elevation— that people have wiſhed to make it be believed. If liberty exiſts not, the true right of property is not to be found, and where they are not, it is certain, that there likewiſe induſtry is no longer to be found, which is the mother of trade. If, notwithſtanding the monopolies, it appears, that induſtry is not wanting, it is not well to ſtop at appearances, and in our

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ſearch we ſhall find, that people uſe ſeveral methods a little violent, to make this induſtry productive, more indirect, and hidden, and we cannot eaſily diſcover them; but at laſt we do, and then we acquire a greater degree of doubt on the exiſtence of the liberty, and right of property of the Hindoos. This article ſhall be rendered clearer, when we come to ſpeak of Opium.

But in fine, the Company has poſſeſſions, and it is well to acquire others, to be able to retain what are already poſſeſſed. The true, and legitimate princes of India, who have no longer domains, or are nearly in that ſtate, and who, ſatisfied, and outwardly content with the generous treatment they receive, from the Company, are not to be feared, are happy, if they know how to remain ſo. And if their hearts murmur, it is only in ſecret and uſeleſsly. The only perſon of this deſcription exiſting, without receiving any thing from the Company, and who might find himſelf in circumſtances, to diſturb their tranquillity, is the Zemindar who ruled Benares, who paſſes his days with Scindia, in rage and fury, cheriſhing the deſire and hope of entering again, into his poſſeſ-

ſions;

ſions; but it appears that preſcription, will oppoſe his wiſhes. We ſpeak here of his actual exiſtence, in the ſuppoſition that he yet lives, as ſeveral aſſert. Yet others deny his exiſtence; for ſay they, where is he concealed? If the other princes, who are allied to the Company, are not inclined towards it in their hearts, they have yet policy and civility ſufficient, to induce them to put on the appearance and make it be thought. Their policy and intereſt, equally induce them to preſerve good harmony with the Engliſh. They who are of no conſequence to the Company, either by their want of power, ſituation, or by their diſtance, are treated with indifference. But the great Princes, rich, ſtrong, and powerful, of which many exiſt ſtill in the peninſula; will they all combine to trouble the Engliſh poſſeſſions? This might well be, and even in concert with the other Europeans. See here, how the circumſtances of ſuch an aſſociation, or even that alone of an intention to form it, would break through the ſyſtem of the Engliſh, which is no longer to make conqueſts. To what cauſe muſt it be attributed, if the victorious Engliſh ſhould poſſeſs the entire of the peninſula? certainly to thoſe ſame Princes,

who

who ſhould let themſelves be drawn in, by perſons, who inſtill into their ears and hearts jealouſy, and diſcord; they being ignorant of their own true intereſts. This compels us to ſay ſome thing on the total of the Engliſh force, its diſcipline, its diſtribution, and the means that the Company poſſeſs to ſupport it.

They make the number of the troops, that the Company maintains in India, to amount to ſeventy thouſand men, whoſe ſtations are divided, and diſtributed over too great an extent of country, to be able to form when neceſſary, and in the event of a general league, a very conſiderable body in a ſhort time; the more ſo, as the cavalry is not numerous. In Bengal, as far as Anopſheer, the ordinary ſtations of the brigades, and their detachments, are ſo well ſituated, that they can ſuccour each other, and unite without fearing much oppoſition; but this advantage, is not ſeen on the Coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, nor in the interior parts, where the Engliſh poſſeſſions, are open to attack. This deficiency expoſes troops to labour, riſk, and expence, which are avoided in Bengal, and to the northward; the frontiers

frontiers of the Nabob, (being covered as they are, by the brigades at Cawnpore, and Futtyghur, and the ſtrong detachments, that are at Anopſheer, and elſe-were,) appear ſecured from the fear of enemies. But, they nevertheleſs could not hold out, againſt a determined band from the army of Scindia, and the plundering nations that ſurround them; above all, becauſe the Engliſh cavalry, is not ſufficient for thoſe countries, without leaving Chunar, and the other military ſtations, that are near them, unprovided, which might in that caſe be attacked themſelves, by other Marattas, and thoſe erratic and wandering nations, who burn, pillage, and maſſacre. The number, of the enemy, would without doubt, be much greater, than that of the Engliſh troops, but the exact diſcipline of the latter, and their manœuvres, ſcarcely leave any thing to be deſired, in ordered to ſee them quite perfect. Their ſubordination is admirable, their courage is known, and they wiſh to have it put to the proof; their reputation is eſtabliſhed, and does honour to the Officers who inſtruct, command, and have the care of them. The diſproportion, that we find

find, generally ſpeaking, between the pay of the military and the civilians, is recompenſed by glory.

It is likewiſe a matter very ſatisfactory, to ſee the manœuvres of the Artillery; the theory of the Officers reduced into practice, by the exerciſes that they continually undergo, in the fair ſeaſon, is the cauſe of that corps being, ſerved ſo admirably well. Ten pieces of Engliſh artillery, would diſmount eaſily, eighty Indian pieces. The time well calculated, the laſt would diſcharge the ſame gun, but fifteen times in thirty-ſix minutes, and that only, when the men who ſerve it are not diſcompoſed; more than thirty perſons are ſet a part for the ſervice of a ſingle gun.

One hundred Engliſh horſe, can make head againſt ſeven hundred of thoſe belonging to the Indian powers with the certainty of beating them. The proportion would not be equal in the diminution of the numbers, it would be to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh cavalry. Preparation made, two thouſand Engliſh horſe, can reſiſt twenty thouſand of the enemies horſe, and are able

to

to attack twelve thouſand. On the Coaſt of Coromandel, and in the interior country, cavalry without doubt, is more neceſſary than in the other Engliſh poſſeſſions. Yet, it is almoſt equally ſo, towards the frontiers of the Nabob Vizier's, where the principle forces of all the nations, which might attack them, conſiſt more in cavalry, than infantry. If the Engliſh do not reſt contented with defending the frontiers, but go to meet the enemy, it ſhould be more numerous, than it is; a body of two thouſand Engliſh cavalry, diſtributed between Cawnpore, Futtyghur, and Anopſheer, ſeconded by the infantry there, with its train of artillery, would be abſolute maſters of all the Douab, and the towns on the banks of the Jumna.

THE Seicks who are formidable for pillage and ſudden attacks, have likewiſe the deſire of extending their dominions—they fear neither Scindia, nor the Abdallahs. If they ſhould be defeated, and almoſt extirpated, as other nations ſurrounding theſe parts have been, it would be only by patience, and a cool conſtancy in purſuing them, and by dividing the force, and attacking them on three ſides,

at

at one time. Their pieces, which carry more than a 1000 yards, and the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, render the difficulty of reaching them the greater. When they ſee their enemies hot on the purſuit, they throw themſelves (as deſperate people) on the enemies lands, and abandon their own: perhaps this nation, will one day, be in alliance with the Engliſh. The opportunity of ſpeaking of the other nations, who may quarrel with the Company, will preſent itſelf in the courſe of this work. They are numerous—and if the Engliſh deſire the ſatisfaction of deſtroying or reducing them, it will not be impoſſible to obtain their wiſhes. But this idea vaniſhes, when we reflect, that the Company is a commercial one only; and the poſſeſſors of ſhares, who expect to clear more or leſs, on the dividends, will ſcarcely liſten to reaſon, on the ſubject of wars or conqueſt.

They rather wiſh for an increaſe of ſure and preſent profit, than a greater extent of dominion, with riſk and actual expence. This cauſe, produces ſay they, other effects; they will never willingly agree in ſending people at the charge of the Company, to make diſcoveries in remote coun-

tries, that might have communication with their poſſeſſions not only in a political and commercial view, but alſo in ſeveral branches of Natural Hiſtory.

YET, the revenues of the Company, in calculating them collectively, give a ſum ſuperior to the treaſures of ſeveral Kings of Europe added together, and that revenue does not comprehend the profits made on trade. It is then from territorial revenue alone, and what ſeveral Princes pay, under various denominations, that the Company pay all the expences incurred for civil and military ſervices in India, and there remains a ſurplus of nearly three millions ſterling.

THESE revenues, fixed, certain, and ſuſceptible of augmentation, are drawn from the lands, from ſubſidies, on the monopoly of Opium, on Salt-petre, Salt, Coinage; the ports and cuſtoms, allowing for every deduction, yield nearly three millions ſterling, in time of peace, to the Company. If to this ſum we add, what the Company gains, or may gain by the trade of Aſia and Europe, it appears that its ſhares ſhould be valuable. Yet they are in debt, and perhaps there is ſome fault in the management.

nagement. If to all theſe truths that we have juſt preſented, we add, theſe which will hereafter in the courſe of this work be ſhewn, it cannot be indifferent or uſeleſs to the nation, and if the nature of theſe truths, ſhould produce any diſcontent, they may in return perhaps produce ſome good. The Engliſh troops (by whom I mean thoſe who are in ſervice here) have certainly that boldneſs of character, and courage almoſt invincible, which their government inſpires them with. But it has been ſaid, that thoſe qualities are a little modified, in theſe countries, by eaſe and its conſequences, which the climate inclines them to, except thoſe inconveniences, which exiſt in the nature of things, the reſt is almoſt as perfect as it can be.

The Engliſh poſts beginning from Calcutta, until we arrive at Anopſheer, have that continuity, and reciprocity of ſupport and defence, without which there is no ſtrength, will render their poſſeſſions permanent, unleſs one or ſeveral of thoſe aſtoniſhing revolutions, which cannot be prevented, although they are foreſeen, prove the contrary. The provinces of Hindoſtan (that conſtitute the Empire of the Engliſh,) united, and brought together,

gether, as they are, under the good order of a ſingle chief, co-operate together, for the purpoſe of executing moſt promptly the orders of Government; and if the unity of opinion, is added, without which, there will never be any thing well executed, the poſſeſſion of theſe countries will be rendered more and more firm and certain. But will it always ſuit, or not, that the whole authority ſhould reſide in a ſingle perſon?—there are many reaſons for and againſt it, and ſucceſs alone can further ſuch as are demonſtrative. The Nabobs and Rajahs that live very retiredly, in the reſtleſs hope of ſome revolution, of which they would be very glad to avail themſelves, appear to have little reaſon to expect the completion of their wiſhes, at leaſt in a ſmall circle of years. Preſent appearances are not ſuch as authoriſe them to predict the revolution that they *hope* for, ſince they can't do any thing except *hope*.

Let us add to this, that the naval forces which guard and defend, the coaſts and entrance of the Ganges and Berhampooter, and we ſhall perceive, that it is almoſt impoſſible, to encroach on the Engliſh poſſeſſions in theſe countries. They have

have well founded hopes of continual ſuccours from the mother country, which in turn, receives pecuniary aſſiſtance from her poſſeſſions in India. The Engliſh marine, has made ſuch progreſs, and is in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, that it can alone, balance, almoſt all the other navies of the world, ſince the juſt and enlightened policy of Parliament has declared, that prizes taken from the enemy, belong to the conquering crews, whom they have alſo encouraged by gratifications—their activity, vigilance, and courage, have been doubled. This warlike marine, protecting at the ſame time the merchant, the reſult would be better, if ſome Frigates cruized inceſſantly in the tracks, where commerce, is too often diſturbed by the craft, roguery, and force of ſeveral people. And if we might do without Malay ſailors, who unfortunately too often mutiny in the veſſels where they ſerve, we ſhould avoid many heavy misfortunes. It is rare that there is not ſome diſturbance in the veſſels which have five or ſix Malays; a diſſembling people, treacherous, bloody, and cruel, who every year get worſe and worſe, in the practice of maſſacring Captains and crews. Several dreadful examples have

have not yet been ſufficient, to render certain Captains prudent, who make uſe of this race of people, in preference to others, only to ſpare ſomething in expence; ſuch veſſels and their cargoes, ought to pay double and triple for their inſurance, for employing or rather being troubled with this people.

NOTHING will be neceſſary but force, and a moderate armament will ſuffice, to deſtroy people of this deſcription. Juſtice, civility, and thoſe ſentiments, which guide the actions of Europeans, are not known by the natives of India. This truth, can never be ſufficiently repeated—The Coaſt of Malabar, is infeſted by the Maratta Koulis; they attack the Engliſh, as well as others, and yet they are the friends of the Engliſh. From Cochin to Cambay, and beyond the Cape Diu, we ſee nothing but their numerous flotillas, which as ſoon as they have taken an European veſſel, even if it is an Engliſh one, are ſure to gain ſomething, although the priſoners ſhould have recourſe to the Court of Poonah. Nothing can be more ridiculous, more aggravating at the ſame time, than the anſwers of the Court:—the buſineſs at length

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gets ſettled, well or ill; but the Marattas, are always gainers, notwithſtanding in appearance, they make reſtitution of what they had taken, and are at liberty again to begin their manœuvres, on the firſt opportunity that preſents itſelf. Fort Victoria, Bombay, the elegant marine of Surat, does not impede them in their predatory cruizes. Why all this inſolence? why do they confide in the moderation and eaſineſs of the Engliſh government? For to believe (as ſome have ſaid) that they leave them alone, expreſsly becauſe they annoy the trade of the other nations in thoſe tracks, appears an abſurd idea, and certainly unfit to be adopted by the Engliſh. England, by its ſituation, and of neceſſity, is called to commerce—it was, and is, the ſpirit of its government—all its operations have that tendency. In England, it is not the people who trade, as in all other countries except Holland—it is the ſtate itſelf—it is the whole nation, and its principles neceſſarily and happily lead towards its greateſt extenſion, at the ſame time that its dominion leads to it likewiſe. Yet, if we analyze the practice of its principles, it appears doubtful, whether all the proper and effectual means for producing that end, are adopted by the

the government; (which is without doubt enlightened and wiſe—and it is preſumed, wiſhes the good of its people) and thoſe who from habit, ſelf-love, and even prejudice, are ſufficiently inclined to regard it as the beſt of all governments, perhaps, do not ſufficiently feel, that it could yet employ more means for the public happineſs, and the ſafety of thoſe individuals who frequent theſe countries—which ſhews, that men, are nearly the ſame every where; and if the Engliſh are not yet, what they might be, there is reaſon to think, that they will ſoon be, what people in general would not wiſh they were.

THE manner of governing people, ordinarily decides their happineſs or miſery; and the art of legiſlation being that which requires more ſkill than any other, is alſo the worthieſt object of a great man's labour; and, as we have ſaid, that ſuch men, muſt of neceſſity, be found among the Engliſh, more than elſewhere, on account of their conſtitution and education; it appears, without a poſſibility of doubt, that in a little time, the public and individual felicity, in the countries which we occupy, will be perfect. The ſcience

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of government, ſhould not contain abſtract truths or ſolitary axioms, and its principles ſhould embrace, all the branches of adminiſtration, applying them inceſſantly to all its operations. The reſult, will at laſt become perfect, in the higheſt poſſible degree; and the effects of that perfection, will be felt by the whole Engliſh nation, and the natives of India alſo, whoſe felicity, ſhould likewiſe be one object with the government.

It is certain, that on the choice of magiſtrates and collectors, depend, in a great meaſure, the means which conduct to that perfection. Have they power enough to do good or harm in their diſtricts? — I believe they have not ſufficient, to enable them to do ill; but have too little, to do much good. Local and perſonal circumſtances, may very often be a juſt pretext for the action. A general rule for all the juriſdictions flowing from, & authoriſed by the ſupreme government, is, without doubt, neceſſary to prevent confuſion, and produce the ſalutary effects of unity; yet what is uſeful for one claſs of men, or one ſect, of the innumerable ones that cover the Engliſh poſſeſſions, may not be ſo to the reſt — may even

be fatal to them. When therefore, the probity and capacity of the magiſtrates and collectors are acknowedged, it appears, that if they had more power, they would be in a capacity of doing more good, than they can now perform: and as ſoon as government has made its choice fall on any perſon, for one of thoſe places, it muſt be, that he is of acknowledged good behaviour, and capacity, otherwiſe he certainly would not have been choſen; the more ſo, as the government is very exact on that ſubject, which attracts the greateſt praiſes from thoſe who love diſtributive juſtice.

We know, that in every ſtate whatever, all innovations ſhould be inſenſible, and produced by a certain neceſſity, ſupported by public deſire: Government ſhould even agree with the general wiſhes of every claſs of the ſtate, if they do not chuſe, that they ſhould ſooner or later produce bad effects. The ſtatutes of the civil and criminal code of Great Britain, mixed with thoſe of ſome of the Mogul Emperors, appear to thoſe people, obſcure, complicated, and too much multiplied; who independantly of the conſideration, that they and their anceſtors have been accuſtom-

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ed to another rule, by their birth, habits, and pride, will never like the change that they have experienced. Their anceſtors, maſters, or ſubjects, are in their hearts; the rule of their duty is diſuſed by them; the baſis of their fortune exiſts no longer; their Gods and holy men are deſpiſed, the whole being changed; they feel an extreme chagrin, and their diſſimulation equals it:—if their diſcontent has not yet been carried ſo far as to diſturb the public order, it is becauſe they have not yet been able.

The circumſtances neceſſary for ſuch an attempt, have not yet preſented themſelves; perhaps likewiſe, the mildneſs, impartial juſtice, and affability of the Government, in general, and the greateſt part of the adminiſtrators of the public power, have contributed to keep them quiet. Among the number of thoſe whoſe conduct they approve, the preſent ſuperintendant of Gyah, for example, is one who is more the father of the people he governs, than miniſter of the conquerors; and conforms, as much as poſſible, to the cuſtoms and maxims of the natives, and by adding the greateſt affability, and demonſtrations

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of friendſhip and attachment, he endeavours to make them forget their diſcontent. This obſervation, ſhould not be uſeleſs either, on another article, which we have ſtated above, that theſe people would form in time, ſome attachment for the Engliſh, if they ſaw them eſtabliſhed here, and perſonally and individually fixed; but how are they diſguſted in ſeeing them only buſy in making their fortunes as ſoon as poſſible, in order to go away at laſt: but the people of the diſtrict of Gyah, are perſuaded by the words and actions of their magiſtrate, that he loves them, and wiſhes their good; that he clears their grounds, embelliſhes the environs of the town; that he peoples it, as well as the adjacent villages; conſtructs (even at his own expence) edifices, and bridges for the public advantage; that he much wiſhes for a high road, on which goods might be tranſported to Patna; and deſires the eternal continuance of the tranſient waters of the river: in fine, they are perſuaded, that he wiſhes to remain among them, all which removes their diſcontent. It is well and conſolatory to make the compariſon of thoſe who govern the provinces, with the approbation of the people, or without it; and that we ſee they

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have not reaſon to complain on account of the revolution in their ancient government; ſince they are in general ſo well treated, that we might even in ſome caſes ſuſpect a little partiality in their favour. The example of the ſeat of government, where the chief makes every virtue ſhine, cheriſhed by humanity and affability, is without doubt the mirror, where the ſubalterns view and judge of themſelves:—this is the cauſe and ſources of the happineſs of the inhabitants, who poſſeſs it, in the Company's poſſeſſions.

The ſentiment of independance, being perhaps the firſt inſtilled into the heart of man, when he has attained the knowledge of himſelf, theſe people would not be culpable, according to the laws of nature, in ſhaking off the yoke of the Engliſh, otherwiſe, gentle and light, if they did ſo, to be entirely free. But this liberty can only exiſt, in the deſtruction of ſocieties, which can never be deſtroyed — for if they were to effect their delivery, it would only be to give themſelves other maſters, who have never had over theſe people and countries, other rights than

thoſe which the Engliſh now have—that is to ſay, the rights of the ſtrongeſt, and moſt fortunate. Thus, their will and efforts would be in this caſe, very criminal, and puniſhable, while the faults of the political conſtitution, or the ſeverity of the Engliſh laws, did not injure thoſe of nature and ſociety. But ſtrength rarely takes counſel of juſtice, and convenience and true proſperity, is ſtill leſs conſulted among people, who want ſentiment; wherefore, we ſhall never be ſufficiently attentive, to deprive ſo many diſcontented people of power. I happened one day to be at a Nabob's, whoſe father was formerly very rich and powerful:—he ſaid to me, "Ah Sir, you ſee me in a ſituation very afflicting—my father has been dead a ſhort time—he had a great annual revenue; at preſent, I know not what the Company will do with me, whether it will take any notice of me, or not—whether I ſhall have ſufficient for my ſubſiſtence, or be reduced to miſery." While ſpeaking, the tears flowed from his eyes; ſeveral perſons of diſtinction who were preſent, (apparently his relations) murmured; their cheeks were inflamed, and their eyes ſparkled with

with rage. If ſuch perſons had the power, they would probably diſturb the public tranquillity.

FORTUNE, that often ſports with the pride of individuals, ſometime ſports likewiſe with that of whole nations; and as the jealous ſay, that the Engliſh are proud, (generally ſpeaking) they expect and hope for that game of fortune, to abaſe their great power, in theſe countries; they are enraged at the luſtre of the Britiſh reputation. But the times are paſt, when it conquered abroad, and the nation was reduced to groan, under the weight of its conqueſts and victories; there is nothing to be dreaded, but from the extreme degrees of its own greatneſs and power. The art of maintaining authority in a vaſt empire, being very delicate, requires a circumſpection without bounds, and an inceſſant activity. But when it is arrived at thoſe extreme degrees, and people are accuſtomed to command others, they are eaſily perſuaded, that the reſt of the world are made quite naturally for their yoke: circumſpection and activity are neglected, and they ſometimes ſleep in ſecurity; and it is then they ſee that men obey only through habits, and can contract new ones. For the time

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alſo, is at length paſſed, when they thought the ſupport of power was not *public opinion* and truly they cannot deny, that all the *force* reſts in thoſe who let themſelves be governed. A people, ſubmitted to the will of another nation, which can diſpoſe of them, and enchain them by prohibitions and monopolies, that diſpoſes of their laws and cuſtoms at pleaſure, impoſes on them as it pleaſes, and changes their cuſtoms as much as it thinks proper, muſt ſooner or later excite its reſentment; the end of which would be the ruin of the one or the other, or both. The hordes of the North formerly invaded Europe, and the North might again become maſters of all Hindooſtan. Thoſe Tartars and Abdallahs might come one day, and therefore it is, that we have elſewhere ſaid, that the Seicks might ſooner or later, be the neceſſary allies of the Company; for we know, that a nation eſtabliſhed between two empires, is very often the beſt barrier that people can have.—And how often it is dangerous to expoſe one ſelf by the extinction of ſuch a nation, placed between us and an ambitious and powerful people, which is ſometimes fortunate in its exploits! We hence ſee the ſolution of what appeared an enigma;

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that is to ſay, that a portion of the forces of the Company, with thoſe of the Nabob Vizier, ſhould not be employed to the deſtruction of the Seicks, whoſe inſolence is become inſupportable, and whoſe ravages and aſſaſſinations extend and multiply every day, more and more; and who dare enter, during the night, the lines of Anopſheer, Futty ghur, and Cawnpore, to commit their robberies; and even attack the Engliſh convoys; as happened a few months ago, when they attacked very near Furrackabad, an eſcort of Sepoys and Officers, at their return from Lucknow to their ſtation of Anopſheer. Therefore, perhaps, policy requires, that the Seicks ſhould exiſt, not only as a barrier on the northern ſide, but likewiſe to obſerve, diſturb, reſtrain, and balance the Marattas, who really require a ſtrong counterpoiſe. For in the name of the empire, and Mogul Emperors, they undertake to extend their own dominions. But why ſhould they not league themſelves with the Seicks, from whom might be derived a regular alliance, ſecurity, reciprocal tranquillity, a real advantage for the allies, and at the ſame time an honourable ſubſiſtence for the Mogul Emperor. This alliance, ſay they, would be the

cauſe of ſome war. We may anſwer, that the war has been carried on, and will be, independant of that alliance. Peace is proper for monarchies, but for the Marattas, war is neceſſary, and an enemy beſides, whom they may dread; at preſent they ſcarcely fear any power, ſince, without any conſtraint whatever, they commit capital crimes, even in the Engliſh poſſeſſions: it is rare that the Marrattas do not commit outrages when they go to Gyah and Benares; and the murders they committed lately, are too recent for us not to mention them.

It is indubitable, that to govern ſeveral nations, differing from each other in every thing, a great character is neceſſary; and the greatneſs of that character has conſtantly manifeſted itſelf, in this government. If India always has the like, it may be reckoned upon, that things will become better and better. The force of truth draws from me theſe few expreſſions; there is here neither flattery, nor cauſe for flattering. It is a pure homage to truth. But if in the courſe of time, there ſhould be any change for the worſe, in the form and eſſence of the government; or the Engliſh eſtabliſh-

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ed here, ſhould manifeſt, one day, ſome diſcontent, or deſire of novelty, then the face of affairs muſt change. Perhaps, this is only a chimera; but there are many chimeras realized; and as it is known that the influence of the Britiſh conſtitution is ſo ſtrong, that it even extends to the troops; that a man is a citizen, before he becomes a ſoldier; and that public opinion, in union with the conſtitution, honours one of theſe titles much more than the other: We muſt be inclined to believe, that the manners of the nation, may have a ſtrong and energetick influence on the ſtate; and when the independance of certain wants, ſhould have been declared, it would be nearly a ſure preſage of victory.

NOTWITHSTANDING wiſdom and virtue enlighten the actions of the juſt and equitable government of England, *public opinion*, which every day gets more and more enlightened, is not intimidated, and ſcrupulouſly obſerves kings and powers, of every order, and denomination; and that it requires only a certain chain of circumſtances to make it burſt forth and oblige them to change. When John Lachland reigned in England, the public opinion was not in his favour:—

vour:—the Engliſh armed themſelves, and drew from him the famous charter, by which all perſons and property remained and ſtill do, under the protection of their Peers. And in the reign of Edward the firſt, the people got admitted by force into the Parliament. This prerogative which has been augmented, by degrees, to the ſtate in which we now ſee it, engendered in the hearts of the Engliſh, certain ſentiments of independence and liberty, which might burſt forth one day in theſe countries, if the power of eſtabliſhing themſelves there, and buying lands and trading freely, ſhould be perpetually refuſed them. Theſe facts, the remembrance of which, is religiouſly preſerved, are inceſſantly preſent to their imagination, which perhaps fermenting from circumſtances, might produce the change we treat of:—But it is only a chimera.

If the Britiſh government, (directed by the national ſpirit,) which ſhould not wander from the true intereſts of the ſtate, were to permit its individuals, ſooner or later, a right in the property of lands, they would probably thereby avoid, what perhaps they might regret ſeeing done

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in another manner. For this right, with that of a certain liberty, is effectively the baſis of the conſtitution; and Britiſh legiſlation, in depriving the Engliſh in India, of thoſe prerogatives, likewiſe take from them, the benefit of their own conſtitution. The right of war, that is ſuppoſed to deſtroy all others, appears to authorize the general claim of the nation; and the fixed principles which excluſively belong to the whole of nations, and the equity of their laws and taxes, ſhould preſerve them from every ſuſpicion of wiſhing to make a change, or withdraw themſelves from the mother-country. This age, which has much, (and perhaps too much,) diſcuſſed the *Rights of Man*, and principles of natural morality, ſhould ſee the termination of all kinds of offenſive prohibitions, and monopolies. There no longer remains except a very few opponents, to this buſineſs, the more neceſſary as the more ancient; and even they, are only ſo in practice, and are temporary; that is to ſay, becauſe they now profit, by what is hurtful to their fellow citizens. There are ſome of them that now enjoy the advantages of the monopolies, who declaim and write againſt this abuſe. When we aſk them, how they can follow in practice, what

what they condemn in theory? they anſwer, that the monopoly is a *real* evil, but that others will engage in it, if they do not. Thus is it a particular evil, which comprehending many individuals, is nevertheleſs named a national ill; and yet the nation in general ſuffers, and it is only a ſmall number of individuals who profit by it.

THEY charge the lands, and tax ſeveral articles, that is neceſſary; ſince taxes are a contribution for the public defence; neceſſary for the preſervation of private property, and general convenience. It requires an armed force to inſure the peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues, againſt invaſion; and a police that may protect and give a juſt value to the produce of thoſe lands; and it is certain, that whatever people pay for the maintenance of their public and private order, is by right and juſtice—but whatever exceeds, is called extortion. But if the advantages for which they pay, do not exiſt, what muſt we call it? If the proſperity of its ſubjects is not the firſt object with a Government, will the governed voluntarily pay? In ſome frontiers of the Engliſh poſſeſſions, the Marattas, and other plunderers, make incurſions and carry off the property of the Engliſh

liſh ſubjects—the force of government does not ſhelter them, and yet they think they pay for protection. The petty robbers, who commit ſimilar thefts, but with addreſs, are very numerous every where, and infeſt private properties. If by chance ſome one among them is caught, he is lodged very much to his convenience; he is fed as well as if he were at home; he has even ſome recreation from time to time; and the little public or private labour to which he is ſubjected without conſtraint, ſerves him as exerciſe. Few of ſuch thieves wiſh to go out from their priſon—the more ſo, ſince they have their wives and children with them, and they want for nothing. A caſe of the kind happened to me, which merits being detailed I think. I was lodged in the houſe of the magiſtrate of the place, where I then was—I perceived I was robbed—the thefts were ſeveral times repeated—I ſpoke to the magiſtrate, of whoſe family I made one—he made a Peon conceal himſelf under a canopy, in the chamber adjoining to the one I occupied, and where the thefts were commited, all the doors being open: the third day he caught the thief in the fact. It was one of my ſervants, and he was impriſoned. Being interrogated two days afterwards,

afterwards, he confeſſed his crime. What I had loſt, amounted to nearly ſix hundred Rupees, but he only confeſſed to having taken a ſum much ſmaller. During my reſidence in that place, no other examination paſſed—after my departure, the thief ſent to tell me, that he offered me two hundred Rupees, to deſiſt from any proſecution. I informed the magiſtrate of this by letter, who told me, that the thief would have his liberty granted him, on the arrival of the Judges, who were expected, on account of the non-appearance of the proſecutor. To which I replied, that I had thought his crime, and the confeſſion he had made, before the magiſtrate himſelf, on the ſeat of judgment, and according to the rules, was his proſecutor; but as for me I would not return again, on account of that buſineſs. Thus this thief would have been enlarged on the arrival of the judges. There is not perhaps a ſingle native of his ſpecies and claſs, that would not very willingly ſubmit to remain in the priſons, during ſome time, for a ſum equal to what he robbed me of. It is much better for ſocieties to prevent crimes, than to pardon them. But as all cannot be prevented, it appears, that too great clemency encourages the

the commiſſion of crimes. In the firſt ages of the world, before the formation of ſocieties, all men had without contradiction, equal right to every thing on the earth; each might take what he would for his own uſe. This common right was to his uſe, and procured from poſſeſſion the right of proprietorſhip. But now this common right exiſting no longer, it is to be wiſhed, that they who emancipate themſelves in taking by violence or craft, what does not belong to them, were puniſhed ſeverely. For want of the ſecurity requiſite in like caſes, theſts are multiplied, and robbers unpuniſhed, or being very ſlightly puniſhed, may at laſt perſuade themſelves, that every thing is in common, and that the deformity of their crimes, conſiſt only in their detection.

It has been ſaid, that the Britiſh conſtitution is not perfect; is not exempt from inconveniences; but is the propereſt for the country of England, and the moſt favorable for liberty and trade;—and alſo, that it is the only one ſince the formation of ſocieties, in which the laws have aſſured to man, his dignity, his perſonal liberty, and that of thinking, and ſaying what he thinks. Yet the

Engliſh cannot boaſt of all this throughout the dominions of Great Britain. A ſtranger *here*, enjoys more liberty in the abſtract, than an Engliſhman. He remains in the country—government cannot decently ſend him away, if his conduct be regular, an Engliſhman may be ſent without any other reaſon being aſſigned, than that he has come without permiſſion. A ſtranger purchaſes ground without much difficulty, if his means permit:—an Engliſhman cannot.—It is certainly permitted the proprietors of lands, to ſell them; but the Engliſh having not permiſſion to buy: and who is there in the country, native or European, of another nation, able to purchaſe them?—it is not uſual to find any. Is it not nearly the ſame thing as to prohibit the natives from parting with them, and therefore what ſort of proprietors are they, ſince the chief right of poſſeſſion, is almoſt taken from them. In England it is quite different—when the nobles were authoriſed in the reign of Henry VII, for the firſt time, to ſell their lands, they found more purchaſers than were neceſſary—and yet this permiſſion was granted through the profoundeſt policy of the court,

court, which advanced under hand conſiderable ſums for that purpoſe, in order to deprive the great poſſeſſors of lands, who were called Barons, of the reſources they drew from them, by which they were enabled continually to oppoſe the attempts of the Kings, againſt the nation: thus after the alienation and diviſion, of the properties of the great, it was no longer poſſible for them to re-unite, in oppoſition to the increaſe of the royal authority. It might very well be the caſe, that the Government had alſo in view, that reaſon, when it prohibited the Engliſh from being proprietors of land in India, in order to prevent thereby their being ever able to oppoſe, with effect, what Government might judge proper to be eſtabliſhed. The more ſo, ſince ſeveral have already written, that the Engliſh Government will again ſooner or later become deſpotic. And they have likewiſe very clearly aſſerted, that kings, notwithſtanding the ſplendour and authority which has been yielded to them by people, and nations, under certain conditions, are not themſelves, the true ſources, but only the exterior and viſible ſigns; the *people alone* conſtitute the eſſence of Government,

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and the law ſupreme, is not the will of the Prince, but the ſafety of the people—for in this caſe the Prince is but a citizen.

CERTAINLY, a moderate and fixed legiſlation, and that which is independant of the pleaſure of an individual, is preferable to a monarchical and military Government, which is often too violent in its nature, too haſty in its orders, for the people to perceive its qualities; and only, or principally formed for times of difficulty or danger, or even for countries too remote from the principal ſeat of ſupreme authority: and the Engliſh nation in general, do not approve of abſolute power in a ſingle perſon, becauſe they ſay, the poiſon of deſpotiſm then takes root, and increaſes; and hating abſolute power (already too formidable in itſelf) they deteſt it ſtill more, when the miniſters are the perſons who exerciſe it. This is a ſubject on which there is not the ſmalleſt doubt, and ſo many proofs exiſt to authenticate it, that it would be uſeleſs to deſire to prove it by arguments. In mechaniſm the impelling power ſhould be augmented in proportion, as thoſe that reſiſt are remote from the centre; and from a mechanical poſition, they draw

draw the concluſion, that they cannot well aſſure themſelves of theſe countries, otherwiſe, than by an abſolute government. But this axiom and concluſion, diſpleaſe the Engliſh nation ſo much, that they have not heſitated to ſay, that if the Britiſh ſubjects, and even natives of theſe countries, muſt be expoſed to feel the misfortunes of an arbitrary government, it would be better that they were depopulated, or but thinly inhabited, and then thoſe true meaſures of the force and power of a ſtate, would likewiſe fail. There would perhaps be very few, who would not prefer the monarchical government, as moſt approaching to unity, to every other, if they could be aſſured, that abſolute monarchy would never abuſe its unlimited authority. But it is very rare to ſee in them a ſucceſſion that makes not an ill uſe of power, and reſtrains itſelf within the limits of moderation; which is the reaſon, that people like not to ſee it, except when it is divided and balanced, by inferior authorities, which may legitimately reſiſt, every unjuſt and dangerous attack, on the whole of the nation, and on individual freedom. All who from inclination,

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from duty, or any other cauſe whatever, occupy their minds with the intereſts of the Engliſh nation, deſire to ſee trade free to every Britiſh ſubject, in theſe countries, without however deſiring, that the Company ſhould be aboliſhed—they only wiſh it not to be excluſive. If the King, one day takes poſſeſſion of all the dominions of the Company, the liberty of trade will infallibly follow. They deſire to be allowed to become proprietors of lands, and that will alſo be the caſe in time; and if they could flatter themſelves with the continuance of a very moderate, juſt, and impartial Government, they might as well almoſt deſire that it ſhould be abſolute.

At the beginning of the Engliſh conqueſts, in India, ſeveral, attentive to whatever this globe preſents intereſting, from time to time, augured the greateſt good, from the Engliſh rule in the Eaſt. They flattered themſelves, that the natives would attach themſelves much more to the cultivation of lands, and could multiply their productions. In fine they expected from their calculations, that their labour would enable them to procure ſome of the pleaſures of life, which they have hitherto never

never enjoyed, and that the proſpect of their new proſperity, would remove their natural apathy and indifference, and fix them to labour—that then an entire confidence would be eſtabliſhed between the conquerors and conquered; and in that caſe it is certain, that the Engliſh would have increaſed their commerce. But unfortunately there has been nothing of this, either in the whole, or in general: there are in truth, fields and gardens well cultivated now, where there were formerly only buſhes, the reſort of wild beaſts; but there were likewiſe anciently fields and gardens cultivated, that are now over grown with buſhes. The inhabitant of India, is perhaps what he will ever be, according to appearances; and if happineſs conſiſts rather in the exemption from the troubles that follow fictitious wants, and inceſſantly torment other nations, than in the multiplicity and variety of enjoyments, the natives, without doubt, find themſelves very happy to remain as they are. The common people are cloathed for the value of a few annas; the appetite is ſupplied for leſs than one anna per diem; the earth ſerves them for a bed; every tree as a houſe.

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To have all this, they do not give themſelves much concern, the ſun hurts them not; neither heat, nor cold, nor rain, affects their health.—And they have thus leiſure to ſee and obſerve, to pity and deſpiſe, thoſe who travel thouſands of leagues, day and night, with the ſharpeſt inquietude, to amaſs wherewith to procure themſelves the enjoyments which the Hindoos are not acquainted with, and wiſh not to be informed about. The great and rich, in truth, expend a little more for their dreſſes, which they put by, as ſoon as they get home; and for their nouriſhment, the expence is ſo trifling, that it does not deſerve to be mentioned. All content themſelves a little more or leſs, with what their country furniſhes.—Thus thoſe who had flattered themſelves, that trade would on this account be much increaſed, appear to be deceived to the preſent time. The Hindoo, who would perhaps taſte enjoyments, that he is at preſent unacquainted with, did he know them, does not ſuffer by the privation; and if by chance there be any one that does ſuffer, it is owing to his ignorance of the mode of putting an end to his troubles; and certainly if he languiſhes in

uneaſineſs

uneaſineſs, it is through his own imbecility. Experience authorizes one to ſay, that ſeveral ages muſt elapſe, before he emerges from his natural torpor and indifference, proceeding no doubt from the climate, and ſuſtained by the prejudices of his religion. His induſtry, long enſlaved by his confined circle of action, and circumſcribed by the few wants he feels, will ever remain as it is—there will be no emulation nor progreſs; —all men ſpeak of liberty, and very few among them are free. The natives of India call themſelves ſlaves of each other, but are in reality free. Thus whole nations are free, and individuals for the moſt part ſlaves. The nations of India, on the contrary, appear to be ſlaves, but every individual is free, and looks at the magnificent palaces, and the great who inhabit them, with a contemptuous air; they inſult by their ſilence and indifference, the troubles that others incur for matters of no value; they know that *they* will be duſt, as well as others, and Conſcience, that ſevere and infallible judge, warns us, when we obſerve them philoſophically, that they do not judge erroneouſly.

In general, we ought perfectly to be perſuaded, that the Princes of India, as many as there be, and all thoſe who figured formerly, or their deſcendants, have their ſouls filled with hatred, againſt all Europeans; and without doubt, more eſpecially againſt the Engliſh in particular. They will not only endeavour inceſſantly, to deprive them of every ſort of advantage, that may be immediately or indirectly in their power, but more than that, will never ceaſe to meditate the ruin of thoſe, who, received as merchants in their ports, have in time deprived them of their kingdoms, or have rendered themſelves their equals, or ſuperiors. If circumſtances neceſſitate them to conclude treaties with the Engliſh, and contract with them any alliance, they *ſign* it, as a man very enlightened on the affairs of India has well remarked, only by ſwearing the deſtruction of the Engliſh in their hearts. They feign, becauſe they cannot do otherwiſe, and the longer they diſſemble, the more they meditate, on the means of accompliſhing their end. And nevertheleſs it appears, that they will have to feign good-will for a long time, and will have leiſure enough to meditate. We

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ſhall have occaſion often enough to make obſervations of this kind, in the courſe of this work.

THERE now exiſts no longer, any power in India, that can embarraſs the Engliſh, but that of the Marattas, taken collectively; but even taken and conſidered ſeparately, they are in a condition to cauſe much trouble. Theſe barbarians are robbers from education, and the principles of their policy, conſiſt in jeſting, with what we call the right of nations, when they can do it with impunity. The civil and natural rights are entirely unknown to them, that of the ſkilful and the ſtrong, are the only ones they know. Every where they go, they leave behind them deſolation; and the total deſtruction of every thing which is in their reach, is the effect of their inroads. It may be doubted whether their alliance with the Engliſh will laſt a long while, and would be much more dubious, if any European nation were to join them. The people, conjointly, as well as individuals, have in themſelves a natural energy, and a certain irreſiſtable internal force, aided by proper circumſtances, that inclines them to the moſt ſingular attempts, to the boldeſt enterprizes, and happieſt

happieſt ſucceſſes. As there have been ſuch men, at all times, in nations, it might likewiſe happen, that the Maratta ſtate ſhould produce other Scindias, who more experienced, from paſt examples, might be ſtill more ſucceſsful. Their groſs and ſordid avarice, increaſe their pecuniary reſources, which renders them capable of prolonging a war. Aurengzebe, granted them through neceſſity, the fourth part of the revenue of the Soubahſhip of the Deccan—they extended this conceſſion in the courſe of time throughout all the lands of Hindoſtan, where they could.

THEIR manner of conducting war, is more in the mode of chiefs of a party, than regular powers; and the manner that Buſſy conducted himſelf towards them, appears very proper for reducing them. This nation, reſembles, a vaſt and rich river, whoſe impetuoſity and numerous mouths cauſe it to encroach on the plains, foreſts, and even mountains, if ſtrong and powerful dikes are not oppoſed to reſtrain it, or if, they do not open many canals, to drain and weaken its force. The human race, being only one maſs of ſenſations, nothing but an ardent,

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happy, and enthuſiaſtic genius, is perhaps wanting, to cauſe a total revolution; and a complication of phyſical or even moral cauſes, a regular progreſſion in politicks; in fine, a mixture of circumſtances, impoſſible to foreſee, muſt concur to effect the change. Among nations, as among individuals, ſimple chance may deſtroy the moſt cautious prudence, and the profoundeſt policy. All the powers that have exiſted, and ſtill exiſt, have had their beginnings, either from the conceſſions of others, or force—they may be reduced and deſtroyed, by the ſame cauſes: this truth will be felt in proportion to their tendency towards deſpotiſm—the rights and authority of England on the peninſula, may terminate, ſooner or later. The nature of human affairs, certainly requires ſuch changes, and perhaps they would be neceſſary, for ſo vaſt and complicated a ſtate, as that of Great Britain in India, the ſupreme ſeat of government is too remote. London is at too great a diſtance from Hindoſtan, and England being the Theatre for parties and diviſions, (ſo that its monarchs, are obliged to abandon the adminiſtration and direction of affairs to the prevailing faction) never will this ſtate of India

India be regarded with other eyes, than thoſe of avarice, and as a place formed to make fortunes in. If the Parliament ſhould aſk from the King, one of his ſons, to preſide in Hindoſtan, under certain conditions, perhaps the foundation of that empire, would become ſolid and unſhaken, and the happineſs of the natives be confirmed.

THE firſt deſire of true philoſophy, is the liberty of man; under the laws of juſt governments, ſhe wiſhes to ſee all men happy; and it is on that account, that ſo many means are contrived to conduct them to felicity. It is not the diſtinction of ſocieties, nor the different faſhions of thinking in religious matters, and ſtill leſs the difference of *colours*, that are a ſufficient cauſe, to make a philoſophical difference between man and man. They neither ſhould, nor can be ſtrangers to each other. They who deſpiſe thoſe, who are not as poliſhed as themſelves, or the natives of every caſt, do not poſſeſs noble ſentiments, much leſs juſt ones. It is for this reaſon, ſo ſimple and juſt, that I preſume to expreſs a wiſh, that there were in all the great towns of the

the Britiſh Power, in India, and particularly in that of Calcutta, a magiſtrate, whoſe, functions might exactly anſwer to thoſe, with which, the Stambool Effendi, at Conſtantinople is intruſted. He, beſides being charged with ſupplying the city, with every article, neceſſary for the daily conſumption, of ſo many inhabitants, is likewiſe to inſpect, and take care, that no monopolies of any kind take place, With the authority neceſſary for thoſe purpoſes, granted him by the government, he has likewiſe powers ſufficient to procure the execution of his orders: they are renewed daily, and extend in detail to every article, that falls under his inſpection. It is he, who every day fixes the prices of Proviſions, wood, charcoal, ribbons, and ſhoes; it is he who fixes the prices of workmen, and all weights and meaſures; every day he takes his round through the ſtreets, places, ſhops and markets; unexpected, he enters a bakers ſhop, he examines his weights, and has his bread weighed; he behaves in like manner to all that ſell the different articles. Should he meet in the ſtreets, any one with a baſket of bread, meat, or any other thing of the ſort, he has him ſtopped, queſtions him, and weighs, or meaſures,

meaſures, what he has bought. If every thing is found to anſwer to the regulations, he is diſmiſſed and goes along; but if the weight, meaſure, or price, are in the leaſt improper or defective, the ſhop-keeper is carried to the buyer, and after conviction, is condemned, for the firſt offence to indemnification, and to be nailed by the ear to the door of his ſhop. If he is caught a ſecond time, in the ſame fault, he is hung in the middle of the ſtreet, with a rope round the waiſt; and he remains thus expoſed during the time preſcribed by the magiſtrate. Ill betide him who is caught in the third offence; for he is hung by the neck until his diſhoneſt ſoul has entirely departed from his body. Thus by theſe means, the people, and the poor eſpecially, can live without murmuring, and ſwearing at thoſe who govern them; and enjoy without much pains what providence ſends them. If a journeyman takes more for his hire, than the regulation allows, he paſſes through the ſame degrees of puniſhment, and people are thereby exempted, from paying for articles even of the moſt neceſſary kinds, three or four times more than their juſt value, as they do here.

here. In the great cities of the Engliſh poſſeſſions, in India eſpecially, every one is his own maſter, as to ſelling, at the price he wiſhes:—they even monopolize articles neceſſary for ſubſiſtance, and abuſes of that kind are riſen ſo high, that they excite rage and pity. But the cries of the unfortunate do not reach the ears of thoſe, who have the power, and would be willing to remove the cauſes of them, if they were heard. Individuals feel the effects of ſuch abuſes, they cannot, and ought not to meddle therein; or if they are in a diſpoſition to laugh at it, they do ſo; (humanity how art thou degraded or humiliated!) people take not much notice of theſe ſmall things, which nevertheleſs produce great evils. But what ſhould we ſay if public authority, or a needy revenue ſhould encourage, or compel the ſellers of their effects or manufactures to this private injuſtice, by oppreſſing the ſale of ſmall articles with taxes? Then the prices and their regulation, and that of meaſures, would augment according to the good pleaſure of the ſellers, without their being unjuſt; and they who might commit ſuch a fruad, to the injury of the people, might be otherwiſe irreproachable, for almoſt all men are honeſt out of their profeſſion.

The Banyans, Shroffs, and all workmen in theſe great towns, are little tyrants; theſe ſcourges of ſuffering humanity ſeem to merit puniſhment, by ſo much the more, as the ills they commit are general. At Conſtantinople, they could not long avoid undergoing the *third* degree of puniſhment.

As taxes may be defined, "the ſacrifice of a part of property and induſtry, for the preſervation of the other," a Government under whatever form it ſubſiſts, ſhould never exceed its due meaſure; if it be carried on beyond the limits that are proper for the people and ſovereigns, it will infallibly ſtop the exertions of labour, will ſtifle induſtry, and produce a total and general deſpondence—population will diminiſh, and the conſequences will be diſagreeable. We ought certainly to encourage both; but it is likewiſe proper, that all the world ſhould live. If the Government of Calcutta, ſhould unfortunately think on the ſubject of the natives, as many individuals do, it would be deteſted moſt deſervedly. Good God! are not the natives *men*, as well as the *whites?* may there not be concealed under the blackneſs of their ſkin, a ſoul as pure, and very often whiter, than certain

certain ones, under the fairer complexion of an European. What would Sir Wm. Gooch, Governor of Virginia, have ſaid, (whom a perſon having reproached with ſaluting a Negro, anſwered that he ſhould be very much concerned, that a ſlave poſſeſſed more politeneſs than himſelf,) to ſuch conduct? It is certainly permitted, to be inventive in the means of making the good of another turn to ones own advantage, but he will never be any other than a wicked man at heart, who can make the *misfortune* of his neighbour ſerve to his advantage. Beſides, is it a misfortune to be black? The greater number of men that exiſt, are nevertheleſs of that colour, and prefer it to whiteneſs. Why is the white man more eſtimable, merely from being *white*, than the black man? There are none but the white men who affirm it. But the blacks are not in any wiſe perſuaded of it. In Ethiopia, whoſe inhabitants are nearly all Chriſtian Jews, or Jewiſh Chriſtians, they paint or carve the devil, and all his ſatellites in *white*.

If then, the black natives of theſe countries, are obliged to pay to Government the taxes laid

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on them, they can require from it, to guarantee to them the remaining part of their property; and ſince theſe countries are not deſerts, nor the inhabitants ſavages, and ſince it is aſſerted, that in this Empire, ſuperintended by a juſt, wiſe, and moderate Government, property finds protection, as well as liberty; we may hope that all thoſe petty robbers, who plunder the people, and eſpecially the poor, little by little, will be one day nailed by the ear, at another time ſuſpended by the body; and that thoſe two puniſhments will keep them from the third, which ſuits not our cuſtoms. Property not being in common, it is a real theft that they commit. In the times of our anceſtors, theft, and adultery, were even *permitted* in Sparta, and not held to be crimes, for the law permitted them; it was not the wife or the property of another, that people could then take away, but the wife and property of the community; every thing was common right; they then recompenſed (as we ſee ſome times in our days in certain places) the addreſs of pilferers of every deſcription. Among the Romans, the wiſe Cato, adviſed the promiſcuous uſe of wives. Among the Jaſides, who now inhabit the mountains of Caracciolan

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and Sengiar, and extend themſelves beyond the Tigres, the Euphrates, and Orontes, to the ſhores of the Mediterranean, the loan of their wives and daughters to ſtrangers, for a ſhort time, is an act of hoſpitality. But all theſe cuſtoms are founded in antiquity, and permitted by the laws. Yes, among thoſe nations, whatever was of the firſt neceſſity for life, was fixed in its price, by the magiſtrate, and they lived there, perhaps much better, than people do now. In theſe countries, where every matter conſtitutes a virtue, (in the opinion of the natives, even the act of generation) theſts are tolerated or not puniſhed. It is in them a cruelty to kill a Cow, and at the ſame time they deſtroy the poor, or render life more grievous to them, than death itſelf. How can means ſo oppoſite, tend equally to the ſame direction; to the maintenance and proſperity of the body politick? It would be certainly well, to reduce them all to that ſimilarity which would aſſure, without doubt, the publick felicity. All theſe little details, do not commonly ſtrike the chiefs, the rich, or the indifferent. It is only in the power of ſubordinate Officers to be informed

formed of them; but *they* are very often inſenſible, or in confederacy even with the perſons who commit thoſe petty depredations.

When we conſider that it is nearly three ages, ſince all this vaſt peninſula, (reckoning from the Gulf of Cambay to the Bay of Bengal incluſively) had but one, ſole ſovereign, (except ſome mountains, whoſe inhabitants have never been entirely ſubdued,) there is reaſon to be aſtoniſhed, that it ſhould at the preſent time, be divided among ſo many nations, of cuſtoms, religions, and origins ſo different. The laſt Great Indian King, who poſſeſſed it in its entire ſtate, was *Ramras*; it was he who loſt it. It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader, to inform him, of the cauſe and manner. This indolent and ſhort ſighted prince, had three *Georgian* ſlaves, whom he loved ſo much, that as a mark of his affection, he gave each of them, ſeveral provinces to rule and govern. The firſt, had the whole Decan, and extended her authority as far as Surat; the ſecond had the kingdom of Viſiapoor; and the third governed all the countries that formerly compoſed the kingdom of Golconda. All three

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ſoon became rich and powerful, and ſupported by a number of Muſſelmen, who then ſerved at the court of *Ramras*, or in his army, they ſeized the opportunity afforded by circumſtances, revolted againſt their prince, and maſſacred him. It was then, that they took the titles of Kings. It is fit to make here (in paſſing) an obſervation, which is, that the Muſſelmen Lords ſupported the three ſlave Governors in their rebellion, on account of the religion that they all profeſſed in common. If the Hindoos made proſelytes, if they had not always believed, that their law is made for *them alone*, there is reaſon to believe, that the three ſlaves would have embraced the religion of their maſter, and probably *Ramras* would have continued to reign, as his deſcendants would alſo have done.

THE deſcendants of *Ramras*, could never raiſe their heads again; they were never ſtrong enough to recover, what the ungrateful uſurpers had taken from them. All the remainder of the ſtates of that great prince, were at laſt divided between all the Rajahs and Nabobs, whom we have at length ſeen; and the ſon of *Ramras*,

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was happy to preſerve for himſelf all Biſnagore, where he fortified himſelf, as well as he could. All the vaſt empire of that great prince being divided and in the greateſt confuſion, it was not difficult for the uſurpers, and their deſcendants, to maintain themſelves, in their kingdoms, even while they were united; but as ſoon as they forgot their intereſts, and ſeparated, the Mogul overthrew them all, cruſhed and deſtroyed them: — it was at the beginning of the ſixteenth century of our æra, that the Mogul firſt appeared, and without much difficulty immediately ſeized on the eſtates of the King Nejam, who was the ſixth deſcendant of the firſt of the three ſlaves—he took Dowletabad his capital, made the king priſoner, and by putting him to death, exterminated his race.

The King of Golconda, the neighbour of the Mogul conqueror, ought without doubt to have apprehended a ſimilar fate for his forces were not capable of defending him there; he ſtood only as long as the Mogul was elſewhere occupied, and notwithſtanding that he had the addreſs to furniſh the princes againſt whom the Mo-

Mogul was waging war, with ſupplies of money; and notwithſtanding that in truth his army was always conſiderable, he ſunk under the force oppoſed to him, a few years after the fall of the kingdom of the Decan, and as ſoon as Viſiapoor was entirely conquered. Before the invaſion of the Mogul in the peninſula, the Patans were already powerful enough there, in ſeveral places, and particularly at Delhi, for this city was not in thoſe times the reſidence of the great King, who in general reſided at Ghod, and called himſelf deſcendant of Phœros or Porus, him who was the foundation of the glory of that Alexander, to whom ſome give the ſirname of *Great*, and whom many others call a villain. People have very often confounded the Patans with the Affghans: We do not heſitate to advance, that the Patans are of a race anciently Mahometan, and even Arabian, of whom a pretty numerous horde, about the beginning of the third century of the Hegira, paſſed into the countries then uncultivated and deſert, that were near Candahar, which they at length conquered. But the Affghans, the ancient inhabitants of the country, always formed a diſtinct nation, and it was only

towards the fourth century of the Hegira, that the Candaharians embraced Mahometiſm, and formed a junction with the Arabians, who were called in general Affghans.

But even before that epocha, a party of Arabian Patans, ſailed towards Bengal—an accident threw them on the Coaſt of Coromandel, nearly where the city of Maſulipatam is now ſituated, to which they gave the name of Moſſuli, which was that of their leader. Perhaps an etymologiſt would ſay, that the denomination of Moſſuli, is not in the perſonal nomenclature of that chief, but only a ſirname, drawn from the country he was born in, as is cuſtomary in the preſent time among all Muſſelmen. Thus they would ſay, that the name of the chief was different, and the ſirname of Moſſuli, derived from the city of Moſſûl, on the Tygris, where perhaps he was born, or his anceſtors had lived. We ſay Bagdadli, Moſſuli, Diarbekirli, Alepli, Stambouli, of a perſon who is born, or has his origin from Bagdad, Moſſul, from Diarbekir, from Aleppo, or Conſtantinople. Theſe Arabian Patans, did not reſtrain themſelves, to the foundation

dation of Moſſulipatam, they made conqueſts, and were fortunate enough to acquire large tracts of country; but their ſucceſs had not much ſtability, that is to ſay, they poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces ſeparated from each other, and founded different principalities, the moſt glorious of which was that of Delhi. They were there, when the Moguls invaded Hindooſtan, who in the end drove them from almoſt all their dominions. The contempt that the Patans have felt for the Hindoos, was at all times extreme, but their hatred of the Moguls is at the preſent time beyond all expreſſion. Theſe Patans are abſolutely vagabonds, wandering up and down in troops of ſeveral hundreds; they ſerve, either well or ill, thoſe who pay them better or worſe than others; and when they have no employ, the towns, villages, and paſſengers on the high roads, furniſh a ſubſiſtence; for theſe fierce, robbing, and traiterous men, are always ready to commit the greateſt crimes for money: except this, they are good warriors and horſemen, managing well the ſabre, bow, and lance, and if they had the leaſt idea of the advantage of ſubordination, might become good Soldiers. They therefore maintained themſelves pretty well

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at Delhi, until the end of the 15th century, SULTAN CHEK OMAR weakened their power, and his ſon SULTAN BABER, drove away from the province, Amivia their laſt Prince. At that epocha, Delhi was the capital of the Moguls, after their diſgrace, they did not remain quiet, nor will they ever be at reſt. In time they aſſembled together, and drove Humajoon, the ſon of Baber, from Delhi. Some Anecdotes reſpecting Sultan Humajoon, may be mentioned here. This Prince ſeeing himſelf deprived of his empire, fled into Perſia, to demand ſuccours there againſt the Patans. Sha-Doula, a faqueer by profeſſion, a ſharp, crafty, and ſkilful man, and much attached to the intereſts of the fugitive Prince, acquainted him that his enemy the young Kira, whom he had loaded with honours and riches, and that had nevertheleſs betrayed him, and obliged him to retire into Perſia, was dead, and that every thing being in confuſion, he encouraged him to return into Hindooſtan. He was brave enough to follow this advice, and fortunate enough to expel the Patans. There is ſtill to be ſeen at eight coſs from Delhi, a monument conſtructed in memory of the laſt battle that he fought with the Patans, and an in-

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ſcription deſcribing the victory gained there.—The fakeer Sha-doula certainly was not obliged to do for Humajoon what he did, ſince he was the cauſe of his regaining his throne. It is not aſtoniſhing that a man who was a ſubject, ſhould endeavour to be uſeful to him whom he believes his King, or who is ſo by choice and affection. But it is very much ſo, that Humajoon ſhould not be ungrateful; he was ſenſible of the kindneſs received, was obliged to him, and recompenſed him very generouſly; for he gave him the immenſe poſſeſſions of Kira, and beſides, a perpetual right of property for him and his deſcendants, over great tracts of land. The deſcendants of that fakeer are now at Behar, in the diſtrict of Gyah, and if they enjoy no longer the honours and immenſe riches of their anceſtors, they nevertheleſs enjoy ſome degree of conſideration. The only male remaining of the family, is a young man of 15 or 16 years; he is endowed both with moral and ſocial virtues, he is named Sha-voly-allah—It is ſaid to be the only Mahometan family in Hindooſtan, that by law poſſeſſes lands in its own right.

It was the ſame Humajoon, who during his life, built for himſelf the magnificent tomb that bears his

his name, which is very near the ancient fortreſs of Phœros Sha, at two coſs from the preſent city of Delhi, and which coſt conſiderable ſums. He nevertheleſs could not finiſh it entirely, for a part of the dome and ſome exterior works were finiſhed by his ſon, Sultan Akbar, who ſucceeded him.—A bridge of twelve aſtoniſhing arches, which are now falling into ruin, and which fronts that ſuperb mauſoleum, is likewiſe his work. But this Akbar Shah, from a low jealouſy, deſtroyed the city of Delhi, the reſidence of the Patans, and at that time the capital of Hindooſtan; and through devotion or caprice, rather than any good reaſon, he retired to Futtipore, where he built a moſque and palace, of the greateſt magnificence, and by that means forced the great men of his court, to build others; ſo that a ſuperb and handſome city appeared in a little time, which did not yield in grandeur to any other of Hindooſtan. It is ſituated on the level part of a mountain, of moderate height, and on its ſides; it extends to the plain and is the ſingle mountain ſtanding in the Low Country that ſurrounds it. On its ſummit, formerly lived a fakeer, of great reputation, whoſe name was Akbar. Sultan

Humajoon,

Humajoon being in his glory, experienced great diſcontent at not having children by any of his wives. The ſilly man had recourſe to the fakeer, who in no reſpect reſembled the Sultan, and who ſaid to him, — "Send to my cottage the wife you love moſt, let her remain eight days here, and do every thing I tell her, and I promiſe you that ſhe ſhall be delivered of a boy; but I inſiſt that you call him by my name, Akbar." This was done. It is not rare for the prayers of fakeers, to have their effect in ſimilar caſes. It is in memory of that event that Humajoon fixed on the top of this mountain, to diſplay his delicate ſenſibility towards the fakeer— But it was Akbar-Sha himſelf, that infallible fruit of the prayers of the Fakeer, who accompliſhed, what his father had deſigned. The moſque, as well as the tomb of the Fakeer, and the convent for thoſe who wiſh to ſhut themſelves up in it, are of white marble, of extraordinary magnificence. The building is ſquare, with colonades and arcades—each ſide is 1000 feet in length, and 100 broad—it is there, that the apartments of the Fakeers are, they are of two ſtories. The royal palace, with its offices, is in the ſame taſte, and

almoſt

almoſt in the ſame ſtile of workmanſhip, as that of Agra. The Mogul magnificence ſhines there, even in the ruins. There is ſtill to be ſeen a court paved with large ſquares of black and white marble, on which the Sultans formerly played at cheſs.

LOWER down and on the declivity of the mountain on the northern ſide, there is a ſpacious tower, moderately high, where the Sultan uſed to place himſelf, to ſee the fights of the elephants. On the declivity of the mountain and on its ſides, the city was built, which is now no longer conſiderable, for it contains not perhaps a thouſand inhabitants.

THE wall of the city (on the plain) ſtill remains, and is even in good condition. As the Engliſh reſident was leaving the city, the robbers attacked his baggage, wounded ſome one who was accompanying him, carried off ſome of his cheſts, even at the gates of the city; but on the diſcharge of fire-arms, fled. It is now called Sikri Futtypoor, and is ſeventeen or eighteen coſs ſouth of Agra.

SULTAN Akbar Shah ſoon becoming tired of the place, he returned to the neighbourhood of Delhi,

Delhi, where he built the new city that now bears that name, on the weſtern banks of the Jumna, which nevertheleſs did not long pleaſe him; on which account he quitted it, and retired to Agra, which he made the ſeat of his empire. At preſent the city of Delhi is almoſt entirely ruined, and its inhabitants are ſcarcely ſufficient to people a moderately ſized town; but it ſtill preſents ſeveral ſuperb monuments, the principal of which are the following: Beſides the mauſoleum of Humajoon, which is in a place called Barapoola, there is one ſacred to Shah Nizam, and the fortreſs of Shere Shah, a Patan or Affghan King; alſo Cootelah Etlat, or palace of Phæros Shah. It contains a column of prodigious diameter, whoſe top was ſtruck off by lightning, and on which there is an inſcription, which I have heard has been interpreted by the learned Sir WILLIAM JONES.—The principal moſque, named Muſyd Jumma, the little moſque having three gilt domes, where Nader Shah was ſitting while his people maſſacred the inhabitants, and the houſe of Dara Shekok at preſent almoſt in ruins. It was from it that the preſent Shah Allum in his youth, (being ſurrounded by twelve thouſand horſemen belonging to the

Vizier Gharee-ud-deen Khan, who ſought to kill him) ſallied with about fifty of his faithful attendants, and opening himſelf a road with his ſabre, and aided by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, ſaved himſelf among the Marattahs. There are likewiſe ſeveral other palaces, and an obſervatory, which is in like manner almoſt ruined. We ſee there the tower of Cuttub-ud-deen Bucthiar Kahy. The column of Petourah, the materials of which are a mixture of all kinds of metals melted into one maſs, and the inſcriptions on which are very ancient. In the fortreſs of Delhi, which is the dwelling place of the King, are now to be ſeen Selim Ghur Devanaam, where the famous throne formerly ſtood of the Paon Devan Kaſs; the gardens, the baths, and a gilt moſque. A part of the garden is particularly worth ſeeing, for it commands a view on the Jumna, where Gulam Kader ſaved himſelf; whence we alſo ſee the canal ſo much renowned, that leads to Lahor. But what is moſt remarkable in the fortreſs, is Shah Allum and his family. Here I have occaſion for expreſſions the moſt pathetick and touching to deſcribe his ſituation—how happy would I be ſhould they cauſe any emotion.—Yes; Shah Allum,

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whoſe eyes have been ſcooped out, remains there, and is perhaps in the moſt dreadful miſery that can be conceived. The rice that he eats, is not in ſufficient quantity for his nouriſhment; his leanneſs indicates his extreme want, and even his nakedneſs is not covered. The daily inſults that he perſonally ſuffers, from the ſevere fakeer Shah Gi, who has the command over him, and who from a barbarous rapacity, refuſes him what Scindia appears to have ordered: oppreſſed by his inſolence, his tyrannies prolong the life of the unfortunate King, which the cruel pride of the fakeer prolongs by every art in his power. Yes, he is the ſame Shah Allum, who ſtretches forth the hand to receive ſuccours from others, and the deſcendant of thoſe Princes, who granted ſuch advantageous conceſſions to the Europeans; who deduces his origin from that Aurengzebe, who being able to diſtreſs and puniſh them for ſome exceſſes they had committed, was content with reproof, and granted them even greater advantages than they poſſeſſed before. He whom you ſee in that dreadful condition, ye powers that enjoy the revenues of his empire, is the repreſentative

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of the Mogul family, and head of the empire, and who calls on you for ſubſiſtence. But let us turn our eyes from what we ſee. You will receive no relief: O Prince! give not vent to complaints, they are uſeleſs—groan no longer, for neither thy complaints nor thy tears excite emotion; thy ſufferings are only objects of deriſion; and if thou haſt no ſuccour to hope for from thy ſubjects, and thy barbarous country men, neither expect it from people ſaid to be poliſhed and poſſeſſed of ſenſibility; for thy hopes would be vain: confine to thyſelf all thy feelings, and receive conſolation in the hope, that ſome day!——no, no, be not deceived, fortune which overthrows nations, empires, and even the globe, has rendered thoſe high ſands of Hindooſtan—almoſt deſert and uncultivated. Thoſe ſpots formerly ſo well cultivated, during ſeveral ages, by a numerous people, are no longer of value, and now only preſent a deplorable picture of deſolation and barrenneſs; a ſad, diſtreſsful, and horrible confuſion, every where that we turn the eye: the view of diſorder and deſtruction meets and afflicts us: the traveller conducted by chance or curioſity into theſe unfortunate regions, cannot avoid abhorring the

authors

authors of the devaſtation he beholds. But the ſight of the King, and his family, impreſs him with horror: and thou, Akbar Shah, ſon of Shah Allum, who art young, amiable, and poſſeſſed of ſuperior qualities, that having reigned, deſcended from the throne to ſeat thy unfortunate father on it, who ſuffered for him, for thyſelf, and all thy family, was it really with expectation of receiving ſuccour that thou chargedſt me to ſolicit it for thee. At leaſt doſt thou hope any conſolation, anſwer me? Alas! I have neither relief, conſolation, nor even an anſwer to tranſmit to you: dear Prince! who haſt honoured me with thy friendſhip, and the title of Brother, I can only grieve with thee; thy pains are multiplied in my heart! Ah! if you can follow the counſel I once gave you, you may perhaps be happy.

SIMILARITY of ſituations is always impreſſive. The ſtate of the Mogul Emperor, and his family, brings to remembrance the Spaniard, named Salcedo, who diſcovered in America, a mine of ſilver, ſo rich, that wiſhing to be more than commonly generous, he permitted every Spaniard that implored his help, and called

called himſelf his friend, to labour in it ſeveral days, for his own profit, without weighing or meaſuring the gift he made. This generoſity drew around him many friends, whoſe avarice made them arm and ſpill blood; and the proprietor, after having been deprived of his property, was at laſt hung, as being the author of the troubles. I feel ſome repugnance in making the application of this example, yet the thing is clear. Almoſt all thoſe who reign now in the empire of Hindooſtan, whether Muſſulmen or others, derive their origin from ſome of the ſervants of the Emperors, by whom they had been loaded with riches and authority. They have quarrelled with their maſters, have armed themſelves, and by effuſion of blood, ſeized on lands; and this Emperor, though he has not been hung, may yet ſuffer death, and at preſent his condition is worſe.

From Delhi to Lahor, there is no government, except the Jagheers of the Begum Sombro. The commanding power every where, is that which is ſtrongeſt; ſcarcely have people put their feet out of the city, but they may reaſonably

expect

expect to be attacked. The Googers, the Sikavates, the Jates, Miwatis, Kolembacks, Rajepoots, Patans, Seiks, and even the Marattas, attack travellers. It is rare, that one can paſs along without being obliged to fire on them. But ſcarcely do we enter into the countries occupied by the Seiks, but ſafety reigns; the Seiks neither rob, nor aſſaſſinate people paſſing through their ſtate, nor burn the towns, villages, and the productions of the earth, except in other territories. Among them, agriculture is held in veneration, and hoſpitality is afforded when people travel in any other except the European dreſs. That of a fakeer is the ſureſt. The Seiks were not known before the reign of Alemgheer, and Aurungzebe made them ſtill more conſpicuous; their religion is a mixture of all others, even of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian; but they are Hindoos, and it is only towards the time of Nadir Shah, that they were able to make themſelves dreaded. Their power extends from the mountains of Cachemire, to the river Atok, and as far as the lands of the Soubah of Pickot, who is now ſubject to Timur Shah, of Candahar; and on the other ſide as far as the gates of Delhi and Agra.

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They make excurſions even to the Douab, and paſs through the Ganges and the lands of the Nabob Vizier. Even in thoſe countries governed by Scindia, the villages pay them a fixed annual ſum, otherwiſe they would burn the Sugar-canes and the other productions of the earth. Their capital is Lahor, whoſe Soubah is as it were the chief of all the other Seik chiefs, who are independant of each other; for they make war among themſelves, but all unite when attacked by foreign nations. There is much analogy between the form of the government of the Seiks, and the princes of Germany, relative to the Emperor. The chief ſeat of their religion, is a ſpot called Hamerſher; it is a ſanctuary that ought to inſpire much devotion, ſince one might readily find there twenty crores of rupees in caſh, without reckoning the precious ſtones.

THESE countries produce in great abundance, talc, ſal gem, iron, ſteel, copper, lead, biſmuth, muſk, and a quantity of European fruits; they abound in every ſort of grain, and ſugar; the people never water the earth; for the ſubterraneous veins of rivers, and the dews, render them

them very fertile. It is through this country that the direct road lead, for the carriage of the merchandizes of Perſia, Cabul and Bengal. The caravans paſs through it in ſafety, by paying certain cuſtoms. It was Nunnek Shah, Grand Chiek Gooroo Goorood, their greateſt prophet, who gave them a religious ſyſtem. It is ſaid in the country, that he was an European; perhaps he was a Perſian, for they call the Perſians Europeans —his tomb is at Bakink, and it is there that every chief ſhould be crowned; that is to ſay ſhould receive the turban, the mark of command. Their exterior ſign, is having the hair long, undreſſed, and flowing over their ſhoulders. Their principal doctrine is the immortality of the ſoul, and in conſequence, a reward or puniſhment after death. They adore but one God, whom they nevertheleſs believe material, and corporeal, and ſubject to changes.

Mittoo, was he who ruled, though very gently, over military matters. Their forces, collectively taken, may amount to two hundred thouſand men; they are little, and lean; ſwift, light, docile, and can endure fatigue, hunger, or thirſt.

The horſemen are armed with a lance, ſabre, poignard, and muſket, ſtrongly tied to their back. When neceſſity requires the uſe of their fire-arms, they diſmount and fight on foot. Their pieces generally carry ball one thouſand paces, very often one thouſand and two hundred, and ſometimes as far as one thouſand and five hundred, but they are very ſlow in charging them. This troop is of no value as a firm body, but is terrible in ſkirmiſhes, and ſurpriſes; in attacking a rear guard, and interrupting convoys. If any power wiſhed to reduced them, they muſt make the attack at leaſt in three places at once, and if they want to bring them to make a ſtand, muſt go direct to their ſacred places, where their religious ceremonies are held.

The number of their cavalry is ſcarcely to be dreaded; with field pieces, they are kept at a diſtance, for they fear them much. But troops would dread being harraſſed by them with fatigue. The ſureſt road for an army, as well as a traveller, is from Delhi to Narrelhi, which is a march of twelve coſs; thence to Ganor is only twelve

twelve coſs and a half, and from this laſt place to Panniput, fourteen coſs. This place is pretty famous. By another march of thirteen coſs, we arrive at the city of Azemabad or Sallawari. In leaving which, and after having gone twelve coſs, we arrive at Tinnaſſar, a pretty conſiderable town, known on account of the ſanctity of the ſpot, and latterly by another event. We then proceed twelve coſs to Shaabad, and after marching ten others, find ourſelves at Ambale. Serai Rajah preſents itſelf at the end of the next ten coſs, and at the ſame diſtance from the laſt, Siren. Macivad lies eighteen coſs further on, cloſe to the banks of the river Settulug, which muſt be paſſed in boats (thoſe now there, are very inconvenient and dangerous) to continue the journey to Raon, which is twelve coſs diſtant from Macivad. Oucceyarpore, is twelve coſs further, and from that town to Sultanpore, is a march of twelve more. Hence to Gellahabad, on the banks of the Beya, are twelve coſs. Amahatkan is only ten coſs diſtant from Lahor, which is majeſtically ſituated on the river. This city is without doubt, one of the nobleſt exiſting in the Mogul Empire, its circumference

ference is about fourteen Engliſh miles, its walls are in good condition, and the fortreſs that commands and protects the city, may make ſome reſiſtance to an army; its ditches are forty four feet deep and ſixty broad; it has four baſtions pierced for eight guns each, three redoubts, two conterſcarpes, a half moon, and two breaching batteries, which form the entire defence. The ſurface of the earth that it appears to occupy, repreſents an octagon, in which conducting the two angles to the point of ſection, gives the ſpot of the firſt mine.

If the enemy ſhould proceed without examining the approaches of the ditch, and beginning to ſap at the diſtance of two hundred toiſes, it is probable that they would infallibly be deſtroyed, unleſs they fell back in time. For beſides their being expoſed to all the fire of the batteries, they would run the riſk of being blown into the air by the exploſion of the mines, which are in many places, both the outſide, and even under the ditches.

THERE are in many parts of the city, moſques and minarets as ſuperb as thoſe we ſee of the ſame kind at Delhi and Agra, and people could make uſe of them on occaſion, to poſt great guns and infantry. The city contains perhaps now two hundred thouſand inhabitants—all religions are undiſturbed there. The chief of Lahor takes the little of Soubah and Vizier, which gives offence to Scindia; they are in expectation of an attack, without however fearing him. The painted cloths of Lahor, and the carpets that are made there, are the handſomeſt in Hindooſtan. The palace where the Mogul Emperors uſed to reſide, reſembles that of Sikri Futtypore; it is almoſt entirely in ruins on the ſouthern ſide. The air and climate of the whole country of the Seiks, are ſo good, that it is rare when people fall ſick there. In ſo agreeable a country, ſtrangers are induced to ſtay there longer than they otherwiſe would. I believe we may place its poſition at thirty-one degrees forty minutes of latitude, and ſeventy four of longitude. In ſeveral ſpots we ſee monuments relative to Alexander, and if we turn aſide a little, from the road between Dobalpore

balpore and Adjodin, we behold ſtill remaining, ſeveral inſcriptions in the ancient Greek language. From Adjodin to the Indies, a canal ſtill exiſts, ſaid to have been dug in the country by a General ſerving under Alexander. Perhaps by Nearches, when he embarked for Patala, and thence conducted the fleet to the ſpot where Buſſorah now ſtands.

The Sikavates, another race that are troubleſome to their ſpecies, are of Rajepoote caſt. Their origin is very ancient, one part of them are Muſſelmen, the other Hindoos. Their country is pretty fertile in the ſmaller kind of grain, and has mines of different metals; they poſſeſs all the metals, and ſemi-metals that are known. Their mountains produce beautiful white marble, and even alabaſter, and a kind of Jaſper; they are tributary to the Rajepootes, and their lands encompaſs the ſtate of Jeypoor. One of their cities called Narnale, always belonged to the Mogul Emperor, who had reſerved it to himſelf for the mart of copper, from whence it was diſperſed throughout Hindooſtan. The Emperors had likewiſe kept Aloor, a country very fertile in mines,

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and not at a great diſtance from Mattra. On thoſe mountains, there is another diſtinct nation called Mina, whoſe moſt ſplendid quality is, that they excell all others in ſtealing, and we are aſſured that they are the moſt dexterous pilferers of India. They are capable of carrying off a horſe or a priſoner from the moſt vigilant guard. All theſe countries produce infinite quantities of cattle, in which their principal trade conſiſts, the richeſt, moſt agreeable, and moſt commodious place in thoſe parts, is the plain or valley of Tannagaſi; two leagues in length, and one in breadth; which contains now ſeventeen mines that are opened, and as they are well explored, they may be reckoned to produce a crore of Rupees annually. The province of Aloar is dependant on Jeypore, or ſhould be: it is in general as fertile in mines as the other, and is rich; but the little province of Tannagaſi, which is ſubject to Aloar, is really the moſt ſubſtantial part. Tannagaſi lies at only four days ſmall journies from Mattra. The capital and only town, bears the ſame name, it is pretty large, trades conſiderably, and is ſituated at the foot of a mountain, on which there is a fort with ſome pieces of artil-

artillery. In 1780 and 1781, a Frenchman commanding the artillery of Nadjat-kan, undermined this garriſon, but it ſurrendered before the mine was ſprung.

If the Engliſh choſe to ſeize on Aloar and Tannagaſi, their army, which I ſuppoſe to be encamped at Mattra, muſt march to Dig, in a ſingle day; proceeding thence, they ſhould leave Aloar 10 Engliſh miles to the right. They would find no oppoſition hitherto; it is only at Sakminghur, that we find a fort which commands the plain that leads to a paſs on the road to Tannagaſi. At that paſs, there is another ſmall fort, and both together could not hold out 24 hours againſt an attack in form. Tannagaſi is the terreſtrial paradiſe of that country; it is there that decent employment would be found, for 200 individuals of the Engliſh nation, and aided by 2 battalions, they would be enabled to explore peaceably all its mines, and make them produce 60 lacks of Rupees, clear of all expences, in each year. But in that caſe, 2 redoubts ſhould be conſtructed on the 2 banks of the Jumna, to protect the paſſage boats for merchandize and minerals,

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they might ſend from Tannagaſi, eſcorted by a company of the battalions, that would be ſtationed there; from Mattra the goods might paſs on to Futtyghur, or ſome other place on the Ganges, to be ſent thence to a greater diſtance. The navigation of the Jumna, as far as Allahabad, might be attempted.

THE Rajah of Jeypore, is no longer the maſter of Aloar, nor Tannagaſi; an intruder, whoſe name was Rau Partapſen made himſelf Rajah of Aloar, and revolted againſt the Rajah of Jeypore; to enſure the fruits of his uſurpation, he put himſelf under the protection of Scindia, by means of a tribute which he pays him. The town where he reſides, is called Makeri, and his ſon who is not very obedient to him, lives almoſt independant of his authority even in the town of Aloar; his name is Saheb-ſin. Another intruder lately took poſſeſſion of the little ſovereignty of Tannagaſi, and throwing off all dependance on the Rajah of Aloar, has remained independant, by means of another tribute that he pays to Scindia. All theſe uſurpations having no certain baſis, may one day be returned to their primitive ſtate of ſubmiſſion. Notwithſtand-

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ing that the Mogul Emperors have no longer more than a nominal title, it remains always inconteſtable, that thoſe provinces really belong to them. On ſimilar grounds, the prince of Delhi has made a grant to an European, of the province of Tannagaſi; the grant coſt the prince who made it, nothing, and ſtill leſs the European who has accepted it. He ſtill keeps the papers relating to that affair, of which according to appearances, he will never enjoythe benefit; not that his pretenſions are not of the ſame nature as many that have been admitted, but becauſe he has not the power to enforce them; wherefore he has offered the government of Calcutta, to make the transfer of them, but they were not accepted. The revolutions that ſo frequently take place in thoſe countries, may in the courſe of time, bring with them circumſtances more favourable than any which have occurred as yet, and of which the poſſeſſor may avail himſelf.

Jeypoor, Jodipoor, Odipoor, and Chitor, have Rajahs, who are deſcended from the ſame family: they are the chief princes of the Hindoos, for all the others depended on them. Their power was

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ſo great, that even the Mogul Emperors were always obliged to marry a princeſs from one of thoſe families, if they choſe to be kings of the Muſſelmen and Hindoos; and the Mogul Emperor, was obliged to go to Agemire, to pay his homage to the great Hindoo Fakeer who reſided at that place, before he could marry; and by thoſe means the Moguls lived in ſafety from the Hindoos. Notwithſtanding Scindia has taken all thoſe countries, thoſe ceremonies of marriage ſtill exiſt. The Gugers are a nation who employ themſelves in agriculture, as far as is neceſſary for their ſupport; they have no provinces that are their own, but have ſpread themſelves in ſeveral, and retain every where their name of Gugers: they are the moſt certain deſtroyers of trade; their profeſſion of huſbandmen, ſecures them from detection, and affords them the ſureſt means of catching travellers. A perſon generally obtains relief wherever he ſees labourers at work in the fields, but where there are Gugers, the matter is otherwiſe: when leaſt expected, they ſurround and rob, but, do not kill if people do not defend themſelves; but on the leaſt reſiſtance,

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they kill if they are the ſtrongeſt; and as they have always with them the tools for cultivating the earth, they make uſe of them to inter the dead on the ſpot; ſo that no trace nor ſign remains of their maſſacre. They are ſo numerous in the city of Delhi, and its neighbourhood, that people are attacked there in open day, in ſuch of the ſtreets as are a little private; and it often happens, that the paſſage boats that go from one ſide of the Jumna to the other, are attacked and robbed by thoſe who are in the ſame boats, and it is uſeleſs to have recourſe to perſons in power, and more uſeleſs ſtill, to hope for juſtice. Their origin is ſo obſcure, that one cannot ſpeak confidently on the ſubject. They are Hindoos.

The Mewaties occupy a ſmall province, whence they derive their denomination; but their excurſions extend commonly throughout the Doab, and as far as Ougein—they are all mounted, and their horſes are very ſwift. Their fixed profeſſion is that of robbers; their arms are lances, arrows, and the ſabre; they dread fire arms: they march in troops of 3 or 400 men,

men, and over-run countries, ranſacking the villages, carrying off cattle, and making ſlaves of the men, whom they force to cultivate the lands. This nation, is the only one among the robbers that maintains ſpies in all the great towns, even in thoſe of Surat and Baroach; and procure information of the ſetting out of the caravans or travellers of any conſideration, who muſt paſs through the countries where they are accuſtomed to commit their robberies. They derive their origin from Mir-Abed-Allah, an Arabian, who in the 13th century of our æra, ſeized on the mountains that are to the ſouthward, and at about the diſtance of fifty leagues from Delhi. On one of them is the town of Mewat, which has given its name to the nation. It is from thence that they are diſperſed over the plain. The town is pretty ſtrong, it has ſtill two middling pieces of artillery, that they formerly carried off from Feridabad, a conſiderable town at twelve coſs from Delhi. They are in general Muſſelmen, though they reckon among them a number of Hindoos. Every diſtrict of their province, has its chief, whom they depoſe and maſſacre, when they are diſpleaſed with his conduct. He who is maſter

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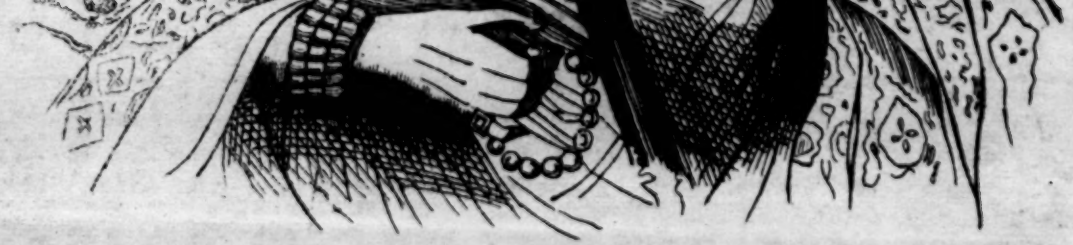
of the town and fort of Mewat, is the moſt powerful; all the reſt pay him a kind of tribute, on account of ſending there, for protection, the effects they have plundered. When united, they can mount twenty five thouſand men. A battalion of Engliſh ſepoys, with its artillery, would be able to reduce them.

The Jattes derive their origin from a ſingle head of a family, whoſe name was Ram-gi; he had thirty four children, who gave him many grand children, who all reſpected him as their father and prince. The eldeſt of the family in direct line, has always been acknowledged as Ram-gi himſelf; they were cultivators, thence their attachment to agriculture. They remained in obſcurity until the fall of the Mogul Empire; they have ſeized on Agra, and extended their power as far as Siren, on the road to Lahor. Their chiefs reſided at Agra with the title of Rajahs; the firſt of them that acquired reputation, was named Jonas Sing; his ſucceſſor's name was Creten Sing; and that of the laſt chief was Naval Sing. Since this nation has been defeated by Nadjuf Kan, it has fallen into con-

contempt and oblivion, for they have lost their conqueſts, and are now confined to Barpoor, which is the capital of their little country. But it is very ſtrong, its ditches are of a breadth more than is uſual elſewhere; they are fifty ſix feet deep, and are always filled with water, that comes from a perennial ſpring. Their preſent chief, who now retains the title of Rajah, is called Ringet Sing, who is at the ſame time the chief of their religion, which is that of the Hindoos. This nation is the only one in India which ſacrifices to Father Sun, and Mother Moon: one day of the year, anſwering to the firſt of our March, the Rajah goes through a ceremony, ſimilar to that of the Emperor of China, on the day of his coronation. Their women are of a clear brown, are very fruitful, and generally ceaſe child-bearing at thirty five years of age; they are perhaps the leaſt diſguſting among the Indian women; they have eyes ſo lively, that one is not inclined to look at and give attention to their colour and leanneſs. The Jattes, at this time, could not bring together twelve thouſand cavalry and infantry, but with great difficulty.

We find in the country between the Seiks and the other nations, the lands poſſeſſed by the Begum Sombro, on condition of always keeping ready a certain number of troops and Europeans. The ſeven Jagheers that ſhe has, are called the ſeven provinces; they are certainly in a ſtate of the greateſt fertility, and if that Lady had not ſuch neighbours, her lands would produce to her much more. She it at preſent head and commandant of a party, whoſe foundation was laid by Sombro, a man unfortunately too well known, at the time of the defeat of Sazed Allah, at Bockſaire. On that occaſion Sombro retired to Agra among the Jattes, but afterwards went from them and entered into the ſervice of Nadjuf Kan, regent of the Mogul Empire, who immediately granted him a portion of the lands which the Beghum Sombro now poſſeſſes, under conditions advantageous to both parties. Sombro after having done good and bad actions, died in 1778, and his Beighum ſeized on the government and the revenues of the lands, which ſhe knew how to augment in the courſe of time. We cannot refuſe her great qualities of ſoul and mind



BEGHUM SUMRO:

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mind; her courage is heroic, and ſhe has been preſent ſeveral times at battles; the balls have whiſtled around her without her having ſhewn the leaſt fear. Her preſence of mind is aſtoniſhing, and her diſſimulation is extreme. No news, either good or bad, cauſes any alteration in her exterior; it is impoſſible to conjecture any thing from her countenance or words; beſides ſhe is generous, intriguing, ſecret, keen, and profoundly politick: her manners are mild and engaging, her deportment and demeanor is noble and affable. She is inceſſantly occupied in buſineſs, and her connexions with the Seiks, render her lands tranquil and ſecure from ravages. She loves dancing, muſick, and feſtivals, and whatever is magnificent; her character is firm, great, and crafty; if ſhe had greater revenues, ſhe would infallibly execute great actions, and would in her magnificence and enterpriſes, be comparable to the Ruſſian heroine, with whom ſhe may be compared from ſimilarity of features, and figure. Her revenues do not now exceed ſix lacks of Rupees, of which a proportion is for the maintenance of the ſon of Sombro, whoſe name is Zaffergiab Kan, who reſides

at Delhi; he is a vain young man, thoughtleſs, proud, and fierce. Another portion is ſpent on his mother now living on a little eſtate, oppreſſed by a diſorder that has deranged her intellects.

THE force of Sombro conſiſts of only four battalions; there is beſides about the number of ſixty European Officers, or gunners. They are generally encamped at Sardana, a tolerable ſtrong town, protected by a fort that is not yet finiſhed. Sardana is only thirty-five coſs diſtant from Delhi, and the whole country, through which one paſſes in going there, by the road of Kikra and Bannoli, is nearly uncultivated, and infeſted by the Gugers. Scarcely do we enter on the territory of Bannoli, belonging to the Begum Sombro, but we find ourſelves in ſafety, and the fields very well cultivated. Sugar is there in abundance, and of the beſt quality, it being as fine as that of Lahor. The Begum has a palace at Delhi, which ſhe does not think proper to occupy; ſhe has another at Agra, with a beautiful garden, and a Durbar. The village adjoining belongs to her likewiſe, but ſhe rather chuſes to reſide in a camp.

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THE family of this Lady is from Cachemire; her parents were Muſſelmen, who gave her being in Hindooſtan, and whom certain circumſtances of the times, had reduced to live humbly; owing to other circumſtance after the death of her father, who commanded they ſay, a corps of cavalry, ſhe found herſelf in Sombro's Zenanah, whoſe mind was entirely governed by her. During his life, ſhe governed the ſtate by her counſels and will; ſhe afterwards became a Chriſtian, and was baptized by the barefooted Carmelites of Agra, who from that time have received from her generoſity, continual benefits. She has never borne children. Her manner of living is very decent, and her manners are unblemiſhed—her enemies can only calumniate her. But on the other ſide, it is a great pity, that ſhe can be reproached (with reaſon) for cruelty, on ſome occaſions. They accuſe her of having put to death two young girls, at Calcatora, a royal garden at two coſs from Delhi, where ſhe then dwelt, and two others at Feridabad. The crimes of thoſe poor creatures proceeded from weakneſs, which even did not amount to commiſſion. They were

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in love, and by a conſequence as ſtrong as natural, were going to live with their lovers. This rigour has been deteſted in ſo much a greater degree, as it was commanded by a woman, who is not ſuppoſed to want the tenderneſs and ſenſibility of her ſex, and notwithſtanding her own force of mind, muſt know that young girls unemployed, well fed, and continually preſent at dances, are therefore liable to hear expreſſive, ſeducing, and powerful ſongs, were not made to remain long encloſed in a Zenana, ſurrounded with ſlender Kannates. Nothing can excuſe this rigour, except the education of the Begum among Muſſelmen, who puniſh every where, ſuch a crime, by death. Crime! O nature! ſhould it be called ſo? This Lady has expiated that atrocity ſince; ſhe has now accuſtomed herſelf to keep about her the daughters of the European Officers in her ſervice; after the death of their fathers, ſhe educates and maintains them in a genteel manner, and as ſoon as ſhe thinks they are capable of being ſenſible, or weak, ſhe marries them, gives them dowries, and declares them her daughters.

If any one was intereſted in the preſervation

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of the government of Sombro, and could procure her the ſupport of the Engliſh protection, he would thereby obtain the command of a body of troops that has always acquired honour and glory. But it ought to be augmented to eight battalions, for which number the Begum has already procured fire arms, and forty good pieces of artillery, without reckoning ſeveral mortars. Her officers are brave, and ſhe is the braveſt of all; ſhe in perſon fought a bloody battle with Nadjuf Kouli Kan, the king of Delhi being preſent. During the action, two thouſand men unexpectedly came out of the fort of Gokelghur and fell on the forces of the Begum, who with a ſingle gun, a twelve pounder, and a company of her ſepoys, ſtood the aſſault, and fought the enemy: their commander was mortally wounded, and ſhe conquered. The king Shah Allum, from whom ſhe received the moſt flattering compliments on her victory, never believed himſelf in greater ſafety than in her tent. If her revenues ſhould be augmented in proportion to the augmentation of her troops, they would be in a condition of becoming very uſeful, and of the greateſt conſideration,

ration, for they would be regularly paid, and would be reduced to a degree of ſubordination, which exiſts not at preſent. Sardana might become a place of conſequence; its ſituation enables its poſſeſſor to have eaſily and in a ſhort time, every kind of communication with Anopſheer. The Begum is much attached to Europeans, and her good will has evidently manifeſted that ſhe deſires a fixed and ſolid connexion with them. Her friendſhip for the Engliſh has appeared in her late conduct; in fine ſhe has all the higheſt titles of the Court of the Mogul; ſhe has been declared daughter of the king, with all the uſual ceremonial. Scindia has in like manner declared her his daughter. But this laſt father would be very happy to enſnare his daughter, if he could do it with any decency and without riſk; therefore the daughter has but little confidence in her parent. She may now be nearly thirty-eight years of age; her ſhape is plump, her height is five feet, her features are regular, her eyes lively and ſuch as impreſs reſpect, having large eyelids and eyebrows, with a countenance always ſerene, and almoſt quite white; magnificently clothed, and adorned with

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a quantity of pearls and gems. She is in the enclosure of her dwelling as a petty Queen, ſerved by eighty or ninety women, ſome of whom have titles and honours.

NOTWITHSTANDING all thoſe countries are ſubject to Scindia, he does not govern all immediately, but gives the command of ſome to his creatures, on condition that they pay him a certain ſtipulated ſum. The military force of this Marattah Prince, conſiſts of nearly 200,000 men. He has almoſt 300 lacks of rupees ordinary revenues, without comprehending the extraordinary ones. An artillery of ſix thouſand guns—and he has brave chiefs under him, but who altogether are not equal to De Boigne alone, with his brigades. If Scindia had policy enough to pay the troops of this commander regularly, he would have nothing to apprehend from the power of the black Princes. The commandant De Boigne, is pretty well known among the Engliſh: He is a Savoyard of noble family. When young he ſerved in the Ruſſian ſquadron againſt the Ottomans, and roſe to the rank of Major. The war being finiſhed, he obtained his diſcharge, and after ſome ſhort voyages, paſſed over into

into England, and thence into India. His project was to return to Ruſſia by land, and the Caſpian Sea, and to endeavour opening a communication and trade between Ruſſia and Hindoſtan; but his enterpriſe failed. He then left the Company's ſervice, of which he was a member, to ſerve under a Marattah chief, and there had an opportunity to diſplay his courage and talents, as likewiſe had Scindia of obſerving his conduct. After he left that ſervice, and had during ſome time applied himſelf to trade, in the ſtates of the Nabob Vizier, Scindia, the events of whoſe life had till then been unfortunate, recalled to remembrance Mr. De Boigne, ſought him out, and made him very generous offers, which he accepted, and then went into his ſervice. He began by making Scindia levy and form two battalions; by degrees and in very little time, the brigade was completed; and what a year ago was but a corps of 12,500 men conſiſts now of 18,000; very brave, well diſciplined, and in proper ſubordination. Almoſt all this force conſiſts in infantry, the cavalry is not ſufficiently numerous. An hundred and thirty good guns are well managed and ſerved by them.

About

About twelve European Officers form the ſtaff, and ſeveral other inferior officers perform ſervice very exactly. Mr. Fremont, who commands a part of theſe troops, is a very experienced officer; perhaps he will ſucceed to the command of the whole body, if circumſtances ſhould favour him; Scindia therefore will not feel the loſs of De Boigne, if he retires from his ſervice, as it is ſaid he intends. A year ago, the brigade was divided into fourteen battalions, each conſiſting of 700 men, 1200 Talengas, and as many Rohillas, with perhaps 600 cavalry. The amount with the artillery, gave 12,500 men: every battalion had a commandant, either white or black, with his ſubaltern officers. The troops carry muſkets and bayonets, match-locks, and halberds, (which are too long and heavy, and too difficult to manage) a great piſtol at the belt, and a ſabre. The Pay of the Whites is paſſable, but not liberal enough, to allure officers of merit. De Boigne alone is really well paid—people aſſert that he has 6000 rupees fixed pay per month, beſides having the profits of the bazars and many others. Thus it is certain he has great gains, and he merits them well; for his activity, his labour, and his

œconomy, which is even too minute in favour of Scindia, is beyond all expreſſion. From early in the morning, until nearly midnight, he has not a moments repoſe—he ſacrifices every thing for Scindia. His troops are regularly exerciſed twice in the day; he has in his own hands, his greatneſs and his ruin; but he is attached to him, he ſays, by every ſentiment of gratitude. His poſt is brilliant, having the riches and honours of a great chief, and he receives no orders but from Scindia himſelf. De Boigne has without doubt genius, a fertile mind, military talents, and a head unequalled for all the ſeveral details; but he is reproached with being too attentive to trifles, which makes him deſcend and meddle in the leaſt matters, which ſhould be the duty of the ſubalterns; they likewiſe impute to him rather too much vanity; ſay, that he is a little envious, and in ſome degree jealous of the officers under him, whom he keeps in great ſubjection, and treats rather haughtily. It is likewiſe aſſerted, that he might be more generous, ſince he has all the means: he frequently makes promiſes, but being loaded with ſo great a quantity of affairs, he in conſequence forgets them. He is not malicious, but is affable, though too fami-

familiar with the natives. He poſſeſſes the love of the ſoldiery, and is void of oſtentation; he is frank and ſharp, poſſeſſes great preſence of mind, is happy in his expreſſions, and among his friends, one of the beſt companions.

Some Officers of his camp, formed a plot to betray and deliver him into the hands of the enemies of Scindia:—the letters, of the correſpondence, were intercepted by Scindia himſelf, who ſent them to him. De Boigne did no harm to any of thoſe mutineers, except diſmiſſing from his ſervice the moſt culpable; the reſt he pardoned and retained in the corps, that they might not be ruined; which trait does him the higheſt honour. The other Maratta Officers, do not view him favourably; they once procured an aſſaſſin, who ſtruck at him with his ſabre to kill him. De Boigne defended himſeif, laid hold of the man, and impriſoned him for two months, then gave him his liberty, without inflicting any other puniſhment, and beſides ſent him away with a preſent of money. Some Rajahs at enmity with Scindia, ſet a price on his head of 50,000 rupees, for he is their greateſt ſcourge; nevertheleſs he is always eaſy in his mind. From

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ſun ſet, until 10 o'clock, he is ſurrounded with a great number of people in his tent, who go there on buſineſs, and he is ſo much crowded that they preſs upon him. How comes it that you are ſo tranquil (ſaid a Gentleman to him on the evening of the 21ſt of September, 1791) "with ſuch a crowd ſurrounding you, your enemies might eaſily do you miſchief?" To which he anſwered, "I am beloved by my ſoldiers." Several other parts of his behaviour, ſhould place him in the rank of thoſe men that are not readily found.

SCINDIA, the famous Maratta chief, is of low extraction, yet we behold him maſter of the empire. The extent of country he poſſeſſes, would conſtitute a great monarchy; he has no fixed character, but is good, and wicked, according to circumſtances; he is inclined to revenge and is ambitious: though a Hindoo in religion, he has much veneration for Mahomet, and his fakeers; he is pious, devout and even bigoted; avaricious, and ready to ſacrifice all for money; he is not cruel, except towards *purſes*; yet we are aſſured, that his revenues are not ſufficient for his expences, therefore war becomes neceſſary to him, ſince it always

always procures him gain. His treaſury is always exhauſted, ſo that he can never give away any thing, which at the ſame time is very conformable to his taſte. He generally encamps at Mattra, yet Ougein is accounted his capital. He has, in Hindooſtan, a Lieutenant General for his deputy, in all the higher countries; he who has that poſt now, is Goppal Bow, who commands in chief, and is encamped at Mattra, or in its neighbourhood, and through whom Scindia's orders paſs. He is brother to the prime miniſter, who is the favorite of the prince. This Goppal Bow, is a little man, of ſlender ſhape, ſharp, eaſy in his carriage, rather cruel, proud, groſs, and covetous, as all the Marattas are. His camp conſiſts of 25,000 horſe, and 5000 infantry. I have viſited him, and ſeen the tumult and confuſion of his durbar to be ſuch, as to diſguſt. I came with ſeveral other European Gentlemen, who ſeated themſelves on the ground. Mr. De Boigne was in the ſame line with us on the left of Goppal Bow, who made him riſe, and place himſelf in the other line on his right, along with the Maratta officers, where he had the moſt honourable place. Goppal Bow gave us all, ſome preſents of very ſmall value, and he received

received articles of much greater value when he returned the viſit, which is what the Marattas and people of a ſimilar deſcription calculate upon. He made his viſit in as much confuſion, buſtle and embarraſſment, as he had received us.

THE productions of thoſe countries, conſiſt in all kinds of Grain, Cotton, Sugar, and Indigo. The land is flat but very little cultivated, owing to the tyranny of the Governors, and the rapacity of the plundering nations; beſides, the Empire of Scindia is not firmly eſtabliſhed. He has only one daughter, who is married to the greateſt beaſt exiſting: the father takes very little notice of his ſon-in-law, who has no concern in affairs of Government. After his death, who will be his ſucceſſor? another perſon or ſeveral? no doubt Hindoſtan will be involved deeper and deeper in confuſion and anarchy.

AGRA is ſtill one of its greateſt cities, and is very agreeably ſituated on the Jumna, yet alas! it preſents no longer aught but ruins on every ſide, which ſerve to diſplay the ancient Mogul magnificence. The miſery of all orders of inhabitants is extreme; the place has no trade, no ſafety; thefts,

theſts, maſſacres, and aſſaſſinations, are numerous; and the Maratta police only ſerves to augment them. The walls of the city, as well as thoſe of the fort, ſhew an impoſing outſide, but that is all; inſide there is nothing but rubbiſh, and ruins; not a place where guns can be mounted.—It may be two miles in circumference:—the entrance has a thick gate, with braſs lining, a portico where the guards are, who do a little duty. We there ſee on the ground, the largeſt gun that is to be found, which they ſay carries ball twelve coſs. Nothing at all is to be ſeen within the fort as to fortifications, but we ſtill behold in the imperial palace, halls, porticos, galleries, and columns of the greateſt magnificence. The walls are bordered with ſmall precious ſtones, that diſplay the riches and taſte of the Princes, by whoſe orders the work had been executed. The ſmall and obſcure rooms, where the Sha Djean died, ſtill remains. We ſee in one of the courts of the palace, a great ſtone of black marble, on which the Emperor uſed to ſeat himſelf, when he amuſed himſelf with the proſpect of the river. Lower down is a very ſpacious court, with other large bungalows, ſupported by marble columns, where the Emperors

gave

gave audience. A ſuperb and ſpacious moſque, conſtructed differently from all the others—it has no doors to enter through, as in a temple, but is on columns, and open. The length of the colonnade is 400 feet, and the breadth 100: between every four columns, there is a dome. We there behold the place where the Sultans kneeled when at prayer. The moſque both at top and bottom, without-ſide and within, is of very fine white marble, finiſhed in a very ſuperior ſtyle, and ſo fine, as to appear like alabaſter. The gardens and baths are ſimilarly magnificent. The river, before that part of the fort which commands it, forms in the middle a little iſle. It was formerly, and is yet, prohibited, for any one to paſs through the channel that bathes the walls, on account of the zennanah, which was on that part; and at preſent owing to the ſuſpicions of the Marattas, who guard it by a party of ſepoys 5000 in number. The city and fortreſs together, may be ten miles in circumference, the inhabitants are perhaps leſs in number than 80,000.

The places worthy to be ſeen are, firſt of all Tag-gheng, the tomb of Shah Djean and his queen, the moſt ſuperb and rich that can be imagined

gined: It is eaſier to form a juſt idea of it by inſpection, than from any deſcription. The gardens and edifices belonging to it are large, but more adapted to the purpoſe for which they were planned, than to accommodate perſons of conſideration. Sekander, the mauſoleum of Akbar Shah, is another wonder of the kind; it is ſituated at three coſs from the city. The palace of the Begum Sombro, with its handſome garden, and the great village, is called Sai-gheng, at the diſtance of two ſmall coſs from Agra; all which ſpace contains nothing but ruins, for the city formerly extended ſo far. The ſpot where the Carmelite fathers reſide, is likewiſe remarkable; it contains a handſome church, ſeveral houſes for the order, ſeparated from each other, and many others for Chriſtians and ſtrangers, with an encloſure in form of a fortreſs, with arable fields, which together compoſe the whole of the habitations of thoſe fathers. It is in this place that the children and the wives of Chriſtian ſoldiers, who are killed or maimed in the ſervice of the Begum Sombro, are kept; they are lodged, and receive a ſmall allowance, and means are afforded them of learning a trade. The father Carmelite, has the direc-

tion and care of this colony of widows and children, and they appear to me to be happy. The Rajpoots extend their incurſions even to the neighbourhood of Agra. They are ſo termed, as if we meant to call them ſons of Rajahs, which is really the caſe, but their number renders them poor, on which account they aſſembled formerly in a body, and forced the ruling Rajahs, to diſtribute lands among them, which they accepted on condition of being always ready, to mount on horſe-back, when the Rajahs ſhould command them. They are certainly good horſe-men, and they want nothing but diſcipline, to make them good ſoldiers. Their Rajahs are the deſcendants of the fam ous Jeſſing, and Jeſſomſing, and the Rajah of Ghod, whom they call Rana, was their firſt chief, as being the deſcendant of Porus. They ſometimes make incurſions as far even as Mattra, and Bindrabund. The firſt of thoſe two cities, may contain at preſent 100,000 inhabitants, who remain there on account of the trade they have with the camps of Goppal Bow and Mr. De Boigne. The place is very well ſituated on the Jumna, but is as the reſt, nearly deſtroyed. It has only one moſque, which deſerves to be viſited; and

and out of the city a tomb, where a giant of 24 feet in height is interred, with ſeveral others of leſs ſize. That giants have exiſted on the earth, appears inconteſtable; and by conſulting the ſacred and profane hiſtories of all nations and ages, we may reaſonably be convinced of it. But it remains to be aſcertained, whether it be religion that has invented giants, or that the real exiſtence of the giants has given riſe to the hiſtories of ſeveral Gods, and their terrible exploits. We may ſee both, in the hiſtory of the city of Bindrabund.

THIS place is at three coſs from Mattra, likewiſe on the Jumna. It was there that the famous Canajalal was born, who killed an infinity of other Gods, like himſelf. As ſoon as that great God was born, they tranſported him to Gokol, a village beyond the river, at three coſs eaſt from Mattra, on account of an agreement between Gokol and Bindrabund—the former brought a girl from Bindrabund. They were two ſiſters who had made the agreement. Before the mother of Canajalal was delivered of him, ſhe found that the child could not come into the world until ſhe had procured a certain ſtone, on the mountain Goberdengi, at eight coſs from her reſidence: in

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theſe circumſtances, an Ape called Anamonta, offerred himſelf to go and fetch the ſtone: he tore up the mountain by its roots, and placed it on his back, and went away with it, through the air to Bindrabund. But on the road, another God who ſaw him, with his mountain, let fly his arrow, and the mountain fell, together with its carrier. This archer God's name was Gooroodo, who queſtioned the ape, and was told who he was. Then he permitted him to continue his journey, and he arrived at Bindrabund, with his mountain, which he laid down at a place now called Goberdengi.—They freed themſelves of the mountain, and found the ſtone, and the mother was ſafely delivered of Canajalal, whom they at lenth tranſported, to Gokol. Bindrabund is therefore a place much frequented by all the Hindoos, who bring there conſiderable alms. There is a great number of Bramins for the ſervice of the Pagodas, which are in great number, and contain repreſentations of the Gods, and more particularly Canajalal, his mother, Anamonta, and Gooroodo. The principal Pagoda of the city, is in the ſtile of all the reſt, but is handſome and rich. Thoſe of the Bramins, who

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have their reſidence on the ſpot, are more revered than others. We ſee there an innumerable quantity of apes, of different caſts, families, and colours, who have no reſemblance with each other, and have no communication together. There are thouſands and thouſands of them herded together. Every caſt has a diſtrict; people enter it not without danger, when they paſs into it through that of one of another caſt. All theſe Apes are held in great veneration, but much more the deſcendants of Anamonta, who reſemble the human phyſiognomy the moſt. Their ſnouts and hinder paws, and the adjacent parts are red. They are not at all ſavage, but are accuſtomed to familiarity with the inhabitants of the country. The great conqueror Scindia, does not diſdain to have reſpect for them: he has the generoſity to have them ſupported at his own expence, which he has even carried ſo far, as to give a Jagheer to the deſcendants of Anamonta. The city of Bindrabund, is not in as ruinous a ſtate as the others, but is large, well peopled, and much frequented by devotees, and the curious; and as to its ſituation, it is truly charming.

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At Gokol we ſee likewiſe many Pagodas, and ſpots where the valour of Canajalal has ſignalized itſelf. Between Gokol, Bindrabund, and Mattra, reſided formerly, in the time of that God, a king, who did all that he could to kill him, and ſeveral times failed. In reſpect to him, Anamonta was always his good friend; one day this aſtoniſhing Ape, being very hungry, aſked the mother of Canajalal for ſome thing to eat—ſhe anſwered that ſhe had for herſelf, only five fruits a day, from which number ſhe yielded him two. This was being very civil on her ſide, but the hungry Anamonta, choſe to have the whole five, which were refuſed him as they ought to have been; whereupon he entered into a garden that the king Kens had, in the city of Bindrabund, and eat all the fruits from the trees, on which he was taken, and condemned to death. The king cauſed all the cloth of the place to be bought, and wrapt him in it, and after having plunged him in oil ſeveral times, ſet fire to him. The fire caught the golden palace of the king, and changed it into Iron, except one corner, which ſtill continued to be gold; it conſumed all the adjacent foreſts, and at laſt Anamonta, the great Anamonta, came out living, and

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in health, from his covering. This being, was another God, who avenged himſelf and killed the king Kens. It is in theſe places, that the deſtroyers of the Moguls, the laſt and preſent conquerors of Hindooſtan, came to lay down their laurels. But all theſe Gods and apes, were of an extraordinary bigneſs. It is certainly allegory and morality, that have engendered dogmas of faith. From Bindrabund to Delhi, the lands are very fertile, but are horribly infeſted by robbers, and it is impoſſible to paſs without a good eſcort. The places of any conſideration which we meet on this road, are Mat, Na, and Tappel; which laſt belongs to the Begum Sombro; likewiſe Attari and Feridabad, a great and ancient city, and tolerably well peopled. From Feridabad to Delhi, it is only twelve coſs, but it is the moſt dangerous part on account of the robbers.

AKBAR SHAH, who had formed the deſign of reducing the deſcendant of Porus, (the Rana of Ghod, who was maſter of Gualior,) attacked him, defeated him, and ſeized on his ſtates; he was then obliged to retire into the Fort of Chitor, ſituated on the top of a high mountain, and almoſt

almoſt entirely ſurrounded by the river Puddar. But that aſylum did not long afford him protection. Akbar Shah beſieged him in it, and took the place, after a ſiege of two years; after which, all his ſtates became incorporated into the Mogul Empire. The Rana received a pretty decent mantainance, but Jeanghur made him ſuffer ſo much, that he rebelled, and took up arms more than once, and at length put himſelf at the head of the Patans, whom Humajoon had forced to retire into the mountains, by whom the Mogul army was defeated. It was on that occaſion that the Europeans firſt ſerved in a military capacity in thoſe countries, and were encouraged in that part of Hindooſtan. Akbar employed ſeveral of them for the uſe of his artillery:—that Sultan uſed to ſay, that wine was as natural and neceſſary to Europeans, as water is to fiſhes, therefore he had them furniſhed with it, in abundance. It was he, who wiſhed to form a ſingle religion, of all the others combined; he preſcribed the rules and ceremonies of it, and eſtabliſhed the doctrines, and thence derived the oſtentatious title of Sha Gelal-el-din, which ſignifies ſovereign chief of the land. But all Muſſelmen were ſcan-

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Grandeur of the Faith

dalized at his actions, and treated him as an apoſtate. Neither were the Indians pleaſed with him, and the Perſians remained obſtinate in their religious opinions. The firſt fruit he gathered from his religion, was a general revolt: Muſtapha, one of the Princes of the Decan, put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents, and did the legiſlative Sultan much miſchief. As people could not kill enough of their fellow creatures by open force, they invented on that occaſion the famous venemous pills. The art originated with Muſtapha, who diſtributed them by means of his emiſſaries. I have paſſed a particular part of the N. E. of the Decan, where theſe pills are ſtill uſed. I have ſeen the recipe in five different places, and the ingredients were every where the ſame—trial of them has ſeveral times been made on dogs, and their effects were found to be terrible.

FROM Agra to Gaulior, is a journey of only four ſhort days, through beautiful and fertile lands; and the villages are very numerous. We meet at the firſt ſtation a pretty little town, ſquare, well walled, and guarded by ſepoys, diſciplined in the Engliſh manner; its name is Giagioo-

Kiſſara; it is ſituated on a ſmall river, which is dry, except in the rainy ſeaſon, nevertheleſs there is a bridge over its bed, which is perhaps the moſt magnificent in India: it is compoſed of large maſſes of red-ſtone, 40 feet in breadth, and 500 in length. It is really a great work, but begins to fall into ruin, in the North part. Juſt without the gates of the town, are to be ſeen ſeveral royal edifices abandoned and ready to fall down, built by Sha Djean, Aurengzeb, and Akbar. In every diſtrict, the people are diſcontented with Scindia, his creatures, and his proſperity.

THE inhabitants of this town declare, they were in Paradiſe before the incurſion of the Marattas. At the ſecond ſtation, we find ourſelves at the town of Doelpore, now nearly ruined, but which yet diſplays a number of ſuperb edifices, both public and private. A little while ago, it was a very great and flouriſhing place. The ſcourge of deſtruction and deſolation, has there been more dreadfully applied, than elſewhere; it is now no longer of the leaſt importance. Its ſituation, is on a mountain, which ſhews its fortifications, and commands the beautiful river Sum

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bul, that paſſes at its foot on the N. W. ſide, and is navigable ſome part of the year. The rocks, and the whole of its ſituation, might render it almoſt impregnable. The Engliſh ſometimes go there to buy horſes. Nourabad is the third ſtation: It was formerly a handſome town, like many others, and is now like Doelpore, no longer of importance, but its ruins ſhew that it has been conſiderable. We there ſee a range of arcades of 110 feet in height, which formerly ſerved to bring water into the town.

It is aſtoniſhing, that a town and fort ſuch as Gualior, ſhould have no cultivated land in its neighbourhood, the whole ſurface of it is deſert. The fort is ſituated on a mountain of ſolid rock, extending from E. to W. To the eye, it ſeems of three good Engliſh miles in length; on the mountain, every thing has been done to form a fort of importance; there has been added on the rock, a merlan, with baſtions and ſeveral redoubts (in parts where danger was apprehended) with even a double, and triple wall. It is well ſupplied with arms, and has a numerous artillery. Scindia knows its importance, and truſts the command only

only to perſons he can well confide in. There ſeems to be a part not very difficult to ſeize on; the more ſo, as on that ſide, there is a mountain, outſide the town, that in a certain degree commands it, as well as the fort; and where a battery might very well be placed. The town occupies he whole declivity of the mountain, and likewiſe part of the plain; on the S. E. ſide it is long and narrow, for the mountain is not very high. The town, with the trade carried on at it, bring 12 lacks of rupees to Scindia, but he expends more in its preſervation.

From Gualior to Ougein, we ſee nothing but ruins, wild beaſts, and robbers; there are mines abounding with iron, in the mountains of theſe parts; they have been well explored. Scindia procures there metal for balls and guns, which he has manufactured at Barai, a pretty large town, only ſix coſs from Gualior. But the mountains which furniſh the moſt elaſtick and ſtrongeſt iron, are in the neighbourhood of Baragan, a large village, fortified, populous, and poor. In the fort there is a governor, placed by Scindia, who aſſured me, that the mountains of his government,

vernment, contained mines of ſilver. At the next ſtation, we come to Goppalpoor, a pretty little fort, having three guns: the territory is ſmall, and well cultivated; the tigers are there very large and ferocious; the robbers cruel and numerous, and from that place we paſs through deſerts and woods, by frightful roads, until we come to Simpri, a large fortified village, ſurrounded with good walls. It is for travellers, the paſſage that is moſt dangerous, on account of the Rajpoots. The danger continues as far as Collar, a very ancient town, ruined by the Marattas, and repaired by Scindia, as to its walls and gates. It ſtill contains thirty thouſand inhabitants, and its diſtrict is conſiderable. Fine horſes, bulls, cows, and ſheep, are to be had there, in great numbers. The women of Simpri and Collar, are warlike, have no ſhame, and are entirely ignorant of all ceremony. From Collar to Andar, Majmedpoor, and Paciar, the entire country belongs to the Rajpoots, who being all Soldiers by profeſſion, and thieves by principle, leave it uncultivated; on which account living is there much dearer than at Mogloſiſſara, which is nine coſs further on the road, than the other place, and ſeventeen coſs further than Si-

Sironge, a large village, thinly inhabited, without trade or cultivation, which was formerly ſurrounded with three walls, but every thing has been ruined by the Maratta deſtroyers. It is reckoned to contain fifteen thouſand people, and produces to Scindia ſixty thouſand rupees per annum, paid to him by a chief he has placed there in command. Here, the Kalebaks, infeſt the high roads; a baſtard and fugitive race of the Rajpoots, who have only ſome miſerable villages formed of tents, which they carry about as neceſſity requires. Scindia with five thouſand men and two guns, has never been able to reduce them to ſubjection. Formerly theſe countries furniſhed cloths of the beſt quality and colours. Seronge is in twenty-four degrees, ſeventeen minutes latitude, and ninety-four degrees, forty-two minutes, longitude.

THE roads are ſtill worſe, and almoſt impaſſable from Sironge to Belſo, and even beyond Bopal. At the diſtance of three coſs from Belſo, we paſs the village of Julgana, which has a ſmall fort, the laſt in thoſe parts belonging to Scindia.—Belſo is a moderately ſized town, but well peopled; it is ſaid to contain 25,000 inhabitants; it is ſur-

ſurrounded with good walls, baſtions, and ditches tolerably deep. There are two cannon of an enormous ſize in it, which Scindia had brought there from Delhi; he ſent at the ſame time many pieces of ordnance from that place to Ougein.—Belſo produces to Scindia annually, only two lacks; it is ſituated on the banks of a ſmall river, which is almoſt always dry, as are the others, which we paſsi n going to it. The productions of the country conſiſt in all ſorts of grain, in white and coloured cloths, much tobacco, and a ſmall quantity of opium and indigo. The ſoil producing the tobacco, ſo eſteemed by the lovers of the hookah, is of too ſmall extent, to have furniſhed the enormous quantity ſold as being the growth of Belſo.

On the other ſide of the ſame road, we meet with the village of Cicena, which belongs in common to Scindia and the Nabob of Bopal, which laſt place is diſtant one ſmall day's journey.—The town of Bopal is very large, and has good walls, with handſome gates; outſide of the town, the houſes are ſo numerous, that the whole preſents the appearance of a place of the firſt conſideration;

ſideration; but we are deceived in judging, that the aſſemblage forms only *one* town. Bopal may contain in all 200,000 inhabitants; and carries on a conſiderable trade in cloth, cotton, opium, tamarinds, and every kind of grain: the number of carts that come there daily, laden with merchandize, is aſtoniſhing—every week hundreds of beautiful Horſes arrive, which are brought by the dealers, from the neighbouring provinces. On an average, they may be obtained at two hundred rupees each, even when brought to Surat. To the ſouthward of the place, there is a lage lake well ſupplied with fiſh, and covered with aquatic game. On the bank we diſcover a part of the town, containing a large moſque with a gilt dome, and ſeveral handſome houſes. To the northward is a mountain, on which is the fort: their views are all delightful. The fort may be a league in circumference—it is ſquare, having handſome walls, with ſome guns mounted. To the ſouthward of the lake, are two other forts, which are ſmall and detached from each other. The Nabob of Bopal, has the right of exacting certain ſums of money, in ſeveral of the Maratta countries; but

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the Marattas who never liſten to the rights of others have ſuſpended the levying of them. The Nabob, is not a dependant of Scindias, nor is he obliged to give him the ſmalleſt matter, yet he keeps up the appearance of having much regard for him, and from time to time (in the moſt *friendly* manner) lends him a few lacks, and carries his compliaiſance ſo far as not to think about having his loan liquidated. Yet, he is ſaid to be ſtrong enough to give Scindia much trouble, if he were ſupported, and had good allies; his forces conſiſt of 15,000 cavalry, and nearly the ſame number of infantry: And his annual revenue is ſaid to be eighty lacks. The reigning Nabob is called Hiat Mahmud Khan; he is nearly forty five years of age, and maintains a pretty reſpectable court. We ſee paſſing in the town, a number of palankeens, elephants, horſes, and attendants of the great men of theſe countries; the Nabob is well diſpoſed towards the Engliſh, with whom he would be delighted to be in alliance. He has not ſtrong intellects, yet his ſtate is very well governed, and if he were not ſo fond of his eaſe, and of money, his affairs would be more proſperous. He is civil, affable, and well proportioned; not very dark, has

lively eyes, is ſtout, is a great eater, and a good horſeman. His ſtates extend from North to South. It is to his Dewan Ciota-kan, that all the good which the ſtate and prince enjoy, muſt be attributed. The little hills ſurrounding Bopal, appear neither to occupy the whole, nor the *ſame* ſpace, marked in the map of Major Rennel; nor do the latitude and longitude ſeem exact. Though the hills, contain mines of gold and ſilver, the people of the country aſſure us, that their Nabob leaves the woods and rocks, and the bad roads that are near this capital in their preſent ſtate, for the expreſs purpoſe of preventing his enemies from being able to draw artillery along, and that the Amateurs of mines, may have no deſire to work, at thoſe in his ſtate. Would a reſident be ill-placed at Bopal, on political and commercial accounts? The ſituation of the lands of the Nabob, is not at all advantageous, for they are intermixed with thoſe of Scindia, alſo with thoſe of the court of Poonah, and are encompaſſed by them every way, which renders him almoſt their ſubject. It is difficult, to ſay exactly, what is the extent of his ſtates, but thoſe employed in his affairs, have aſſured me, that from North to South, they may be 112 coſs, and ſeventy, from Eaſt to Weſt.

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The latitude of the town is twenty-three degrees and ſome minutes.

In going from Bopal to Ougein, we paſs the cities of Sivor, Barad, Sugialpoor, Sagiapoor and Tarana: This laſt place is nine long coſs diſtant from Ougein; is a pretty large town and the neateſt to be ſeen in India, except on the coaſts; it contains 30,000 inhabitants; and with the diſtrict, produces 250,000 Rupees yearly to Scindia, whoſe dominions begin at this place. All its lands are ſo well cultivated as to leave nothing to be deſired. He who governs, is a particular friend of Scindia, and is ſo attached to agriculture, that he makes the people clear the neighboring woods, to cultivate the ſoil which is very fruitful. Sagiapoor is ſeven long coſs diſtant from the laſt mentioned place, and is one of the largeſt, moſt populous, and moſt trading towns, in the articles of Grain, Indigo, Opium and Cotton. Its triple incloſure of handſome walls, and gates, are well worth ſeeing. It produces eighteen lacks to Scindeah. We thence proceed twelve coſs to Sugialpoor. Barad is a middling town but is famous for its large roſes, tamarinds, peacocks, tigers, and thieves; its herds of every

kind, are very numerous and beautiful, and fine cloth, is very cheap and in abundance. Sivor, is no further distant from Bopal than nine cos's. It is a very rich place, owing to the productions of its territory, and the number of its cattle. It is of but a moderate size, but well walled, and fortified by four good bastions. The little river at its side, is always filled with people bleaching the cloth. The whole space between Bopal and Ougein is very fertile, in every thing, and there is no natural or local impediment to the progress of a small army; it is perhaps the best state in Scindia's possession. The ancient Uzene of Pliny, is the present Ougein, situated on the eastern banks of the little river Sipparah, whose source, is only thirty English miles distant from the city. To the Northward it joins the Sumbul, very near Colah. The place may be about six miles in circumference, surrounded with walls, and bastions of stone; people have assured me, that it contains only 50,000 inhabitants. The houses are of stone and brick. Its principal streets, are regular, and paved with great squares, of greyish stone, and are very well ornamented with tolerably neat shops. It contains nothing curious except the palace, built

built by Scindia, and a temple adjoining. What is termed Ung Pat, is a temple, or rather two temples, contained in the ſame boundary. They are pyramidical, as all the other Hindoo temples are. Within are the idols Rama, Lickſimin, and another ſtatue of white marble. The idols Krona, and Rhada, are of black marble; and of an age coeval with the city, which we may judge to be the caſe, from inſpecting the ſolidity of the materials, they being enormous maſſes of ſtone, nearly black. A gate-way with twenty-four columns that derives its name from Chawbeeſs, is a handſome relick of the ancient architecture, of the Hindoos. In examining the execution of the temples, and ſtatues, we may form a favourable idea of the ſtate of the arts, at a period ſo remote. The ſubterraneous cavern we ſee near the temples, conſiſts of two apartments, conſtructed (we are informed) by a Rajah who abandoned the world, to live as a fakeer there. The epocha of which action is more ancient, than the time of Biche Majert, who founded the preſent city of Ougein. In this cavern, we ſee ſeveral ſymbols of Mahadeu; and the figure which repreſents the Rajah. The city of Ougein, with the whole of its diſtrict, pays yearly

yearly to Scindia, eighteen lacks; and he eſteems it much, though it has neither ſoldiers nor fortifications, and that he expends nothing on it. The Quay on the river, which was formerly ſuperb, with its walls and gates, is in ruins in ſeveral places; we enter the city, almoſt every where, except through the gates, on account of the rubbiſh, which entirely bars them up. This is certainly the place where no police of any kind exiſts. People plunder the Shroffs, in open day, though they may be cloſe at the gate, even of the Durbar. Otherwiſe, Ougein ſuch as it now is, preſents an agreeable view on the ſide where the river is, owing to ſeveral little pagodas prettily embelliſhed, ſome Moſques, and a number of fine, verdant, and beautiful trees, which flouriſh all the year round.

Mr. Griffith, the Engliſh, chief of Surat had given me a commiſſion to make all neceſſary enquiries, reſpecting the Opium and Indigo of the province of Malloa, and to communicate them to him; which is the reaſon that I made the tour of this fertile and agreeable province. The information I procured was, that the price of Opium was generally from ſixty to ſeventy Rupees the maund, which

which contains forty ſmall ſeers. Its quality, is not much inferior, to that of the Opium of Behar; which inferiority is only owing to their mixing oil, in the manufacture. This is not done with a view of defrauding, but becauſe the dealers think the mixture neceſſary. If they were taught another method of manufacturing it, there is no doubt, but they would uſe it. Every village, cultivates as much as ſuffices for its own conſumption, which is two or three maunds. If they were encouraged, to encreaſe the cultivation, from a greater demand, people might procure, as much as they choſe, for the inhabitants deſire nothing better. Any agent whatever, eſtabliſhed at Ougein, or in any village in the neighbourhood of ſeveral others, aided by perſons employed under him and with ready funds, might gain conſiderably in a little time. But he ſhould be inſtructed in local circumſtances, and ſeveral other particulars. A vehicle drawn by four oxen, would convey ſixty maunds of Tobacco to Surat, for a hundred rupees; but in this, is not reckoned the charges of an eſcort, and ſome ſmall cuſtoms to be paid on the paſſage through different territories. The province furniſhes ſeveral other articles in abundance, the trade in which might very

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ſoon enrich a ſkilful merchant, of a reſerved, yet plain character.

THE ſame may be ſaid of Indigo, as of Opium: and the Cotton of the country, is likewiſe excellent. Several Europeans, ſecretly reſide in it, during part of the year, but they dreſs in the country habit, and only ſpeak the current language. It is by theſe means that the Indigo, which from the purchaſers obtains the name of Agra Indigo, is procured; likewiſe Opium, and other articles that reach the coaſt, by indirect roads, or the river Nerbuddah, and are brought where the veſſels are waiting for the cargoes. Speculation may be carried to great extent, in ſuch articles, and the profits are certain. It is to Ougein, that even now, a quantity of the pearls of Surat is brought, a part remains in the city, and the remainder is diffuſed throughout Hindooſtan. At this place likewiſe the diamonds of Bundelcund are procured, which are brought there by the Bohrahs a particular Mahometan ſect, following the doctrine of Iſmael, a diſciple of Mahomet, and among whom the Chief Mollah reſiding at Berhampore, is of the greateſt conſideration. From him they obtain paſſports for Gabriel, and all

all the chiefs of the mountains, which enſures their ſafety, when they bring the diamonds of Bundelcund to Ougein, and thence to Surat. The rich province of Mallua, terminates to the weſtward at Ratlam, a large town without walls, the inhabitants of which, probably amount to 45,000. This place is ſurrounded with a vaſt extent of level, fertile, and cultivated lands, covered with a great number of cattle of every kind. This province alone, if it were well regulated, might furniſh its prince with four crores of rupees annually—without impoveriſhing the inhabitants; but at preſent it is the ſeat of diſorder, and confuſion, as are likewiſe all the other poſſeſſions of Scindia. What he holds beyond Ratlam, as far as the territories of the Rajah of Baria, which are Carvir, Giobboa, Pettalaud, Tandela, Tandreda, and Dahoud, can not be compared to the country of Mallua. Beſides, theſe lands are intermixed with thoſe of the Rajah of Bim, who conſiders himſelf independant, and whoſe ſituation, among mountains, ſecures him from the reſentment of Scindia.

The city of Ougein, which we ſee at preſent, owes its foundation to Biche Majert, a prince very

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much celebrated, from having patronized the Sciences, and above all aſtronomy. From him the Hindoos reckon their principal chronological epocha, and who for his wiſdom, was regarded as the Solomon of Hindoſtan. But there was another city, much more ancient, ſituated at about a ſmall Engliſh mile north of the modern city. It is at preſent buried under a depth of 15 or 18 feet of ſoil, in digging as far as that, we find brick walls ſtill entire, columns of ſtone, and pieces of wood, of an extraordinary hardneſs. Among the bricks, there are many larger than thoſe commonly made in our time, which they uſe to build with elſewhere, and it is not rare while digging for theſe, to find metal utenſils, and pieces of money. In a ſpot that had been ſunk by the rains, we diſcover, the vertical ſection of a Potter's oven, where people found, a great quantity, of earthen pots, cruſhed, and ſtrongly compreſſed together. From the fragments, we may judge they were all of the ſame ſimple figure: the remains of an inverted cone, the baſe being open, and the ſmaller extremity forming the bottom of the pot. A quantity of corn was likewiſe found there, almoſt entirely conſumed, or reduced to a kind of coal, and incruſted, with a black terrene matter;

ter; it was neceſſary to have it well waſhed, to diſcover the figure of the grains, which appeared to be wheat. Between this ſpot, and the modern city, there is a low plain where it is ſaid the river flowed, that was turned aſide from its channel, at the ſame time that the place diſappeared, from the ſurface of the earth. People aſſert that this revolution happened in the age immediately preceding that of Biche Majert. What the Bramins relate, concerning that event, is ſo extravagant, that we here give it a place, only to amuſe the reader, though we are the more inclined to do ſo, as intereſting truths are very often diſcovered under the veil of the moſt ridiculous and ſtrange allegories.—A certain God, or Demigod, named Gundrufreine, having deſcended on the earth, aſſumed the figure of an aſs, and choſe his habitation at a Potter's, in the city of Ougein. A certain Bramin paſſing by the door of the Potter daily, in going to bathe and ſacrifice to the Gods, was accoſted by the aſs, who ſaid to him—"I order you to tell the Rajah, that I demand his daughter in marriage, and if he refuſes me, I ſhall deſtroy the city." The Bramin, was at firſt afraid to communicate the demand, to the Rajah; but the orders of the aſs, were ſo often repeated, that he

he complied at length, and desired at the same time, that he would accompany him to the Potter's. On their arrival, the ass uttered his demand, and threats; whereby, the Rajah, convinced that he was not an ordinary ass, but rather some God, hidden under that figure, gave him up his daughter. After several months were passed, the Goddess became pregnant, and suspicions were formed of her continence. It was said—her husband is an ass, she cannot have conceived by him, she must have admitted the carresses of a man. The report so scandalous to the honour of his daughter, came to the Rajah's ears, who questioned her on the subject. She answer'd—"It is true that my husband, during the day, is an ass, and labours for his master the Potter, but I desire you would come to me at night, and your suspicions will vanish." The Rajah followed her advice, and having placed himself as he was instructed, saw the ass throw off his skin, and become a man, of handsome mien, and appear every thing he ought to be. His doubts were then satisfied, but yet he believed, that it was an unbecoming thing, that his son-in-law should resume a figure so vile, which he wished to prevent, and therefore set fire, to the asses skin. Gundrufreine perceived

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it, and ſaid to his ſpouſe, "My mortal cloathing is going to be deſtroyed, I ſhall return to heaven, and the city will immediately be deſtroyed, by the fall of waters from above; fly, and ſave yourſelf." She runs to a village, ſituated at ſeveral coſs, from the ſpot, and immediately earth fell from heaven, until the city was covered. The Goddeſs, was ſoon afterwards, delivered, of the celebrated King Biche Majert. Thus, he ſo renowed for his wiſdom, and knowledge, was the ſon of an aſs; and perhaps the Potter's oven which we ſee belonged to his father's maſter.

However ridiculous this fable be, it is indubitable, that the ancient city, is at preſent hidden under a heap of ſoil. The cauſes that have produced that event, are not to be divined. The remains do not ſhew the leaſt veſtige of volcanic ſcoria, and there are in the neighbourhood, none of thoſe mountains, or conical hills, that one can ſuſpect to have furniſhed, ſo great a quantity of Lava. If any light can be thrown, on a recital ſo extravagant, as that which he Bramins give of the matter, it will no more than the other, be favourable to the ſuppoſition of a volcanic eruption. For they ſay that the ſhower of earth that fell from heaven,

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was cold. As the tradition makes mention, of the courſe of the river being altered, at the time of the change, we might ſuſpect, the city to have been overthrown, by an extraordinary inundation. But the river is generally too ſmall, to cauſe ſo great an effect, yet ſometimes it overflows in ſuch a manner, that it has in our time, covered a great part of the modern city, which is on an eminence; there was in the laſt year, as far as ſix feet of water, in the ſtreets, and almoſt a thouſand houſes were carried away, in the city alone, without reckoning whole villages, which underwent the ſame fate. It was really a phenomenon which people had not ſeen during thirty years before, and it happened after a dreadful rain of twenty-ſix hours, when the water fell, to the depth of ten inches on all the ſurface of the ground.

THEREFORE a phenomenon of that kind might have exiſted, and even in a greater degree, in ancient times, when the old city was cruſhed, and covered, either by the adjacent lands, or the ſediments of the torrents. But what muſt we think, if the change of the courſe of the river, has rather been the conſequence, than the cauſe of the cataſtrophe?

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THERE is yet room for two other ſuppoſitions, between which, it is not eaſy to chooſe. The firſt is, that the city might have been overthrown by an earthquake: The other, that it has been overwhelmed by a quantity of ſand, brought there by ſome tempeſt. The firſt of thoſe cauſes, is very ſufficient, to have produced all the effects in queſtion, and the only objection that preſents itſelf againſt that hypotheſis, is the perfect condition in which the ſubterraneous buildings are found. Yet we cannot examine them ſufficiently well, to be aſſured, whether they are whole in that degree, as to render the ſuppoſiti on of an earthquake utterly improbable. But, that the other cauſe, might likewiſe be capable of producing the ſame effects, we are convinced, from the examples, ſeveral times repeated, on different ſpots of the Globe, where towns, and villages, have been buried under ſand, which the fury of the winds had collected. But the ſoil of the province of Mallua, being a black vegetable earth, does not accord with that ſuppoſition. Yet, when the ſoil becomes dry, it is light and friable, and has without doubt, been changed, and ameliorated by the continual cultivation, of ſo many centuries. If any proof may be deduced from the tradition of the event, it will be favourable to

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the laſt ſuppoſition. For none of the other cauſes, would ſo nearly reſemble a ſhower of earth, as that; and it is likewiſe ſaid, that it rained but little on the fields, and much on the city and neighbouring villages. Now that would naturally happen, in the caſe of ſand brought by the winds, for it would have been heaped to a conſiderable heigth, on ſpots, where the buildings of the place, preſented obſtacles to its paſſage, and horizontal progreſs. Doctor W. Hunter, (attendant on Major Palmer, the Engliſh Reſident with Scindia) who during ſometime has reſided at Ougein, a ſcrupulous obſerver of nature, her phenomena, and productions, labours with unexampled aſſiduity, to make diſcoveries, concerning this Herculaneum of Hindooſtan. We may expect from his reſearches, much light on the natural hiſtory of theſe countries, on their mythology, aſtronomy, the ancient ſtate of their arts, and on hiſtory in general: For it appears from certain ancient manuſcripts found there, (and without doubt, there are more ſtill to be found) that there are ſome faults in the chronological epocha at preſent uſed by the Bramins, which cauſes errors, in calculations, and hiſtorical reckoning, and renders them doubtful and uncertain. Doctor Hunter, having

ing all the qualities requiſite for a perſon eager after inſtruction and knowledge, will certainly communicate to ſociety, many other uſeful and agreeable diſcoveries, with the ſame readineſs that he communicated to me, the greateſt part of what has juſt been ſaid, of the ancient city of Ougein, at preſent covered with the earth.

THERE is nothing but deſerts, woods, mountains, ferocious wild beaſts, and aſſaſſins, throughout the twenty-two coſs between Dahoud, and Baria, which laſt place is the reſidence of the Rajah, bearing that name. No other Europeans have ever been ſeen to paſs that country except myſelf, and Sir Charles Mallet ſeveral years before me. The Rajah informed me, that he was a great friend of his, and gave him the higheſt praiſe. A coſs beyond this, begin two chains of mountains, leaving an opening between and a free paſſage, to the town, which has an advanced gate, at the feet of two mountains. The town is pretty well fortified, and the gates are always kept ſhut; the inhabitants at the utmoſt do not exceed 8000; the place is ſurrounded by mountains, covered with trees, and at every hundred paces, we meet a Cioki. The Ra-

jah, has no other ſubjects but Coolies, who are thieves, and aſſaſſins, he this himſelf is the head of the gang, and he ſtiles himſelf independant; yet it was Scindia who has made him Rajah, and given him the elephant. His whole revenue, conſiſts of three lacks annually, comprehending in that ſum, what his officers pay him for leave to rob. Woe betide him, who travels through this ſtate without a numerous eſcort, or making conſiderable preſents to the Rajah. The place is a gulph of hell, and all the inhabitants real devils. I have promiſed, that I would not ſay the Rajah is a real aſſaſſin, therefore I will not, though he were ſo in the higheſt degree; but will ſimply relate how he ſerved me, and the readers will beſtow on him the epithet which they may think he merits. When I arrived at the outer gate of the town of Bariah, it was ſhut, the hour being about eleven in the morning. I told the keeper I had a letter of recommendation for the Rajah, which I gave him, and it was carried to the palace. The Rajah was aſleep, and the Miniſter ordered me to be acquainted, that till he roſe, I might enter, and paſs through the town and encamp outſide of the oppoſite gate, which I did. Two hours afterwards, the Miniſter ſent for me to

come

come to the Rajah's. Mr. Launay, my writer, a young man of knowledge and talents, accompanied me; as ſoon as I had arrived in the great hall, where there were many perſons armed with ſabres, the Rajah came out from another apartment, holding by the hand a child of three or four years of age. We met, ſaluted each other, and ſat down. Flowers and perfumes were preſented to us, and his converſation on the affairs of the world, was very gay. On a ſudden, he told me, that every white man, paſſing through his eſtates had 500 Rs. cuſtom to pay, as poll tax, and that he wiſhed me to pay them. To which I anſwered, that I hoped he would have a regard, for all the paſs ports, with which I was provided, more particularly to that from Scindia, and the letter of recommendation I had brought, to exempt me from that payment. "Not only (ſaid he) I will not exempt you, but I know, you are loaded with precious ſtones." At the ſame time he aroſe, and with his own hands, undid even the bandages of our hats, muttering I know not what, between his teeth. During this ceremony, I beheld from the window, my two horſes, and one of my cheſts, which he had made his people, carry away from my tent, and bring into his yard. This

confirmed

confirmed me in the opinion, that I was robbed, and I ſpoke on the ſubject to the Rajah, with ſome firmneſs, who anſwered by ordering us to be maſſacred: His people had already drawn their ſabres; what part was to be taken, in ſuch a conjuncture? I dart on the little child, who was at his ſide, I ſeize on him, hold him firmly with my left arm, I draw a piſtol from one of my pockets, which he had not rummaged, and point it to the breaſt of the child who was his ſon, threatning to kill him, ſhould any one approach to injure me. This briſk and firm action, ſtruck them all with aſtoniſhment, not a perſon ventured to ſtir; with the child in my arms, I went out of the palace, leaving the Rajah trembling; I croſſed the city, paſſed through the gate, and came to my tent, which I found half pillaged. It was not till then, that I had perceived, that Mr. Launay was miſſing. The Rajah ſent me ſeveral of his courtiers, one after the other, to obtain the child, to whom I declared that Mr. Launay, ſhould firſt of all be ſent to me; after which, I would return his child, otherwiſe I was reſolved to kill him. Upon this Mr. Launay was given up, but I would not ſend the boy back, till my horſes, cheſts, and goods were returned to me, all of which were

brought

brought, except two pairs of Engliſh piſtols. While all this was tranſacting, it became night, and my ſituation was very diſagreeable, I found myſelf much fatigued with holding the boy in my arms, and yet my ſafety entirely depended on my doing ſo. Juſt then two Patans, without arms, came to ſpeak to me, and ſaid that their troop was in number one hundred and thirty, in the ſervice of the Rajah, with whom they were ſo diſſatisfied, that he offered me their ſervices, if I would pay them. Notwithſtanding numerous reflections that I naturally made on their offer, I accepted it, not knowing what to do better; and there being no poſſibility of my remaining in the ſituation I then was, helped to confirm my determination. Our agreement being finiſhed, they promiſed to be all with me after midnight, and went off uttering the greateſt oaths of their fidelity towards me. Then I walked a little out of the tent, that I might not be ſurpriſed, the child in the mean while, crying and ſtruggling ſo, as to fatigue me very much. Juſt at that juncture, I was plundered of my effects anew, therefore when I returned to my tent, I thought my laſt hour was faſt approaching, when the chief of the Patans came to ſpeak with and ſwear fidelity

to

to me, and conclude the final agreements. At parting, he left twenty-two armed men with me, for my guard until he ſhould return, with the remainder of his people. I confided in him, and ſent back to the Rajah his child, and again entered my tent. The chief of the Patans delayed coming till day light, when he told me that the Rajah owed him ſeveral month's pay, without which they did not chuſe to depart, and were reſolved, as they were ſtrong enough, to compel him to pay them. I anſwered, that though it did not regard me, yet if they choſe to uſe violence, I would beſtow a good preſent on any of them who ſhould bring me the Rajah alive, my intention being, to carry him priſoner to Scindia's camp, then at Agimere. They accordingly went to the palace, while I guarded the gate, outſide of which was my tent with ſixteen Patans, and my own people. But the Rajah had in the meantime ſaved himſelf, with his family, and had taken his own cheſts and mine to the mountains; the inhabitants were diſperſed, yet the Patans, ranſomed ſome of the Banyans, and afterwards returned to the tent, ready to begin the journey. The day was now already too much advanced, and we were all hungry,

gry, we therefore determined to remain where we were. In the courſe of the day I diſpatched one of my ſervants clothed as a fakeer, with letters in which I repreſented my ſituation to Mr. Griffith at Surat, I have reaſon to think that the man was maſſacred, for I have never heard either of him or my letters ſince. At midnight we decamped from the place, with all the precautions neceſſary in ſuch critical circumſtances; we marched fourteen long coſs, before we arrived on the lands, belonging to Scindia, and during the paſſage, were continually harraſſed, and thrice attacked with force and vivacity. My Patans behaved themſelves as brave men, and ſeveral of them were wounded as well as myſelf with arrows. At length we got out of the country of the Rajah, and continued our march towards Ougein. Till then I was much obliged to the Patans, but two days afterwards they inſiſted on being immediately paid, drew their ſabres on my people, wounded three of them, and were at laſt going to plunder me of what had been left by the Rajah of Baria. It was in conſequence of entreaties, kind words, and promiſes, that they deſiſted. All this happened at Ratlam. The agreement I then made with them was, that having no money

money about me, I would pay them, on our arrival at Ougein; on a perſon at which place, I had a Bill of Exchange of ſufficient valde which they examined and ſhewed to others, and having found that it was a good one, were contented with the promiſe of being paid there. The Shroff from whom they received the money, at Ougein, who ſaw how I was treated by them, can bear teſtimony of the inſults which they made me ſuffer. However, I do not forget that I owe to them my life. I now aſk the reader, what is the Rajah of Baria?

One traverſes thoſe frightful mountains for four days, by Noſckare, Sankcoute, and Heriabad, and nothing can be more ſavage than the inhabitants, their manners, and barbarity. The only method of travelling, is to get eſcorted by them, and the ſureſt character to appear in, is that of a fakeer. The journey is thirty-eight long coſs, and preſents nothing but woods precipices, and the horrors of a deſart peopled only by tigers, and ſome men worſe even than thoſe beaſts. Heriabad alone, is a place pretty large and tolerably populous, and is ſituated on the river Mike. The inhabitants are not as ferecious as the reſt, as they have ſome communication

munication with the city of Cambay. All theſe lands, belong to the Rajah of Godra, another head robber, and of whom the Coolies, are the deteſtable ſubjects. Beyond the river, begin the country and mountains of Oodipoor. Affairs are a little improved there, people can paſs without *much* riſk, to examine the countries, and their productions, which conſiſt of grain and cotton. Between Oodipoor, and Chittor, there is a very fertile valley, producing the fineſt cotton of theſe climates, ſuch as is preferable to the beſt ſort produced at Guzzerat, this is generally brought to Amedabad. The fort of Chittor, defended by an arm of the river Puddar, would be impregnable if it contained water. The enemy might eaſily prevent the beſieged from taking it out of the river. It is on a ſteep mountain of rock, along which, a ſingle narrow path, leaves only room for one man in front; precipices are on all ſides; thirteen guns are very well placed in it, and from 500 to 600 ſepoys guard it for the Rajah, whoſe ſtates extend to the N. W. as far as Jaloor. It is the ſame family, which governs Oodipoor and Chittor, and the whole of its revenue does not amount quite to fourteen lacks per annum. But the ſituation of their lands ren-

ders them pretty ſtrong; therefore when Scindia brought his army againſt the country, he was not able to injure them much. The hatred exiſting between them and the people of Agimere is beyond all expreſſion. Politick rulers turn this diſpoſition to their own advantage. The latitude of Chittor is thirty-ſix degrees fifty-ſeven minutes, and the longitude is ſeventy-ſix degrees and three minutes.

THE burning ſands (beginning immediately as you leave Jaloor,) joined to the want of water, ſcarcely permit a traveller to croſs the deſart, to the Sindus, at leaſt in the hot ſeaſon. Jaloor is ſituated in twenty-five degrees, and fifty-ſeven minutes of latitude, and ſeventy-three degrees nine minutes of longitude. People are obliged to turn to the W. to gain Ammercot, where it is proper to ſtop a little for relaxation, after what has been borne before arriving at the place. This town is five days journey from Jaloor, the whole way is entirely a deſert, the air is filled with duſt, when the winds blow with violence, and produce little hills of moving ſand, that are ſeen one day, and diſappear on the next. But yet thoſe deſerts nouriſh ſome very ſingular animals, and the parts adjacent to the

Puddar

Puddar, preſent novelties in Botany. We ſhall come to treat at length of thoſe matters, as well as what has been ſeen and diſcovered, in other places we have mentioned, becauſe we have preferred that mode in order to prevent a part of the liſtleſſneſs that the recital of ſeveral matters almoſt uniform, may cauſe, in perſons who look in reading, only for what is entertaining.

AMMERCOT, is a town of four Engliſh miles in circumference, it is walled, only in the degree that is neceſſary, to prevent the wild beaſts from entering. The inhabitants are in number from ten to eleven thouſand, almoſt all Muſſelmen, whoſe anceſtors came originally from Arabia. It is an Arabian chief, who has the command, and the ſituation of the town agrees well, with the mode of living among the Arabians. All the ſubjects pay their chief, two rupees annually, as a capitation tax; he has beſides as his own property, a quantity of cattle that augment his revenue. The people are all horſemen, and in an hour the chief can place himſelf at the head of 6000 horſe, who are armed with lances and ſabres only. The ſtranger is well received there, if he previouſly makes the chief

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acquainted, that he wiſhes to ſee the town, for which ſome ſmall preſents are neceſſary. A perſon may engage in his pay theſe troops; which are advantageouſly ſituated, and deſire to be employed, to cauſe a diverſion. The wool of their flocks, is almoſt equal to that of Barbary. Theſe Arabians are not thieves by profeſſion; they rob only through enmity ſome one or other of the chiefs in the neighbourhood. For example they are continually at war with the chief of Joinaghur, which renders it impoſſible for the traveller to go to the laſt mentioned place, and obliges him to repaſs the Puddah, to regain the Guzzerat country. People after a days journey further, croſs the Puddah at Brutka, where they ſtop to provide neceſſaries. Brutka is not of itſelf important, but meat and vegetables are to be procured there. It belongs to the chief of Kitpoor, who rules on the mountains and plains of theſe parts, almoſt as far as the gates of Amedabad. Here the diſguiſe of a Fakeer is abſolutely neceſſary, to enable you to paſs without being maſſacred. The ſhorteſt road, would be to take that from Kitpoor to Omedabad, but the famine that prevailed while I was there made dreadful ravages; the high roads and fields, were covered with the

carcaſſes of men and animals, a horrid ſight! But in travelling from Kitpoor, along the ſides of the mountains to the ſource of the Serri, and thence to the Mike, we find ſafety, and procure ſome proviſions. We may embark on the river at Kanapanier, for ſeven coſs of the journey, until we arrive near Broda, and that paſſage requires two days. Ammercot had ſome years ago, a pretty conſiderable fort, but it is fallen into ruins entirely, and its Chief neglects it ſo far, as to have no intention of rebuilding it. It is ſaid in the country, that Akbar Shah, was born at this place. Its latitude is twenty-five degrees and fifty-ſix minutes, and longitude ſeventy-two degrees and four minutes. Kitpoor is in twenty-four degrees and thirty-eight minutes of latitude, and ſeventy-three degrees ſix minutes longitude. Brodra is diſtant from Broach only three good days journey. Entrance into the town is denied to every ſtranger, notwithſtanding all the paſſports he may have procured. I was obliged to remain at two coſs from the place under a tree, and the Rajah gave me a good guard of Arabs, to preſerve me from thieves. The town appears to be three miles in circumference, and its walls are flanked with

ſeveral

ſeveral baſtions. The vehicles and camels loaded with cotton, which we ſee in great numbers, ſhew how that article abounds on its fertile lands. Likewiſe we ſee at Gioorood, at Allol and Malloa, large villages, and an immenſe number of perſons employed on the cotton. Yet Allol belongs to Scindia, and behind the village, to the ſouthward there is a very high and ſteep mountain, with fortifications, that afford ſecurity to the place, which is on the top. There is no poſſibility for a ſtranger to obtain permiſſion to enter it. I was obliged to be ſatisfied with being told, that there are 4000 men in the garriſon, and two hundred guns. The fortreſs is called Paugar. As to the reſt, the Rajah of Brodra, is a very inconſiderable prince, who trembles at the ſight of an European. Brodra is in twenty-two degrees, and forty-nine minutes of latitude, and in ſeventy-three, ſeven of longitude.

Broach is not as happy as it was under the Engliſh government. The inhabitants curſe the day, when they were ſurrendered to Scindia, and ardently wiſh again to become Engliſh ſubjects. That nation ſtill maintains a factory there, while no

other

other Europeans are permitted to fix their reſidence in it. The city is ſituated on a moderate eminence, and commands the river Nerbuda, at thirty Engliſh miles from the Bar. It is ſurrounded with merlans and has ſome guns. Its inhabitants are ſaid to amount to 80,000; ſepoys diſciplined in the Engliſh manner, form its guard. Its trade is not conſiderable, but conſiſts in cloths, cottons and horſes. There is no juſtice nor police in the place. The three chiefs whom Scindia has appointed to its government, tyrannize over, and deſtroy it. It yields to Scindia, three lacks more, than the Engliſh obtained from it. Some European individuals, cloathed after the manner of the country, reſiding in the interior of it for the purpoſe of clandeſtine trade, make their boats loaded with merchandize paſs on the river, which has cauſed ſome trouble and may poſſibly occaſion more, in the courſe of time. Mr. Crow, the Engliſh reſident at Broach, has only fifty ſepoys for his guard; he lives in the old Dutch factory, and is well eſteemed on account of his very regular conduct, and his addreſs in living among them. From Broach to Surat we meet with the town of Aleſſar only, and the Cioki of Kim, which is exactly half way.—

This

This Cioki is pretty well inhabited, and its boundary, which may be an Engliſh mile in circumference, with a good gate, contains a ſufficient number of people to reſiſt a weak attack. Thoſe who guard it, for the court of Poonah, to whom it belongs, are the moſt inſolent Marattas exiſting. They have no reſpect, no kind of difference for any one, its ſolitary and deſart ſituation, augments their inſolence. The Engliſh reſident at Broach, who is obliged to paſs by very often, has alſo been inſulted, and the court of Poonah, never makes a proper reparation; for it is uſual with all the Marattas to give inſults and never to make reparation; it is alſo one of Scindia's chief qualities as well as of his governors at Broach. The ſircar of the Engliſh reſident at Broach, a man of weight in that country, and a friend of the principal governor of the city, told me one day, that the laſt mentioned perſon, had informed him, that I was diſpatched by Mr. Griffith, towards Scindia to carry complaints againſt him, and it was he who gave me a letter for the Rajah of Baria. In fine it is at the gates even of Surat, where one ſhould go to ſee the Ciokis of the Marattas, and be convinced, on the ſubject of their inſolence. But what can be

done?

done? They are the maſters, and if no remedy is applied, this inſolence will increaſe.

CHRISTIANITY is much decayed, in all the countries of which we have ſpoken. There is a Church at Agra, and 150 poor and unemployed Chriſtians. At Jeepoor, which is thirty-five coſs from it, there are nearly ſixty Chriſtians, who are in the Rajah's ſervice. Quiton Ghur thirty-two Engliſh miles weſt of Jeepoor, contains two Chriſtian families. In Cottabondi thirty-five coſs from Jeepoor, are twelve Chriſtians, all doctors; even the women; Gualior contains only twenty-five, who form the family of the old Nabob of Narwah; Pecher, ſeventeen miles diſtant from Gualior, has only ten Chriſtians. At twenty-eight miles from Pecher is the little town of Dattia, in which are twenty-ſix. In Boppal forty-eight. In Tappel twenty-five, who are all ſupported by the bounties of the Beghum Sombro, as well as thoſe of Agra and Delhi, where there are nearly 150, comprehending in that number, ſeveral Armenians. The twenty-ſix that are at Batta, a village ſixteen miles diſtant from Delhi, likewiſe receive from the above-mentioned lady, ſome ſubſiſtence

ſiſtence. Sardana, her ordinary reſidence contains 160; Brod, twenty-four miles from Delhi, has twelve; Borana ten more, and perhaps there are twenty in De Boigne's camp, without reckoning the Europeans. At preſent, only a ſingle miſſionary, miniſters to that whole extent of country. The ſituation and town of Surat, are too well known to require my ſaying any thing on the ſubject. I have only to mention that Mr. Griffith, the preſent chief of that place, is in the higheſt conſideration with all nations who frequent it. His love for the country, and his nation is unlimited, and the Company's advantage, is the ſole aim of all his actions. In the beginning of 1791, he diſcovered by means of one of his friends, a kind of plot againſt Surat, which his prudence rendered abortive. That affair having been attended with no conſequences fell into oblivion, and cauſed no converſation. It would be proper, that at leaſt it had been marked in the annals of the place, for in that caſe, his friend might have hoped that the ſucceſſors of Mr. Griffith, in reading (or having the account read to them, in order to amuſe) the paſſage it might have occurred to them to aſk, "what recompenſe he received"? The trade of Surat is no longer

longer what it was formerly, for it decays in every article, and will decreaſe in a ſtill greater degree. In ſeeking for the cauſe we ſhall find it the ſame as in other places, Too many obſtacles; too heavy duties; expences in carrying on trade, too many excluſive privileges, and too many perſons engaged in trade. The profits that were formerly divided among fifty perſons, are now ſhared by 500; therefore the conſequence is evident.

being

Bombay for a ſimilar reaſon, (that of too well known) requires not to be treated of here. Nor the caverns of the iſland of Elephanta and Salſette, which have already been exactly deſcribed by Doctor Wm. Hunter. I wiſh rather to tranſport the reader to Goa, and thence to the Gauts, and the Decan. Goa is one of the firſt places in India. Its port and fortifications are in an excellent ſtate. The countries, is lands, and diſtricts, ſurrounding it, are otherwiſe, for the lands though fertile, are not ſufficiently productive. The rivers abound with fiſh, but it is rarely that we find them on the table. Articles of neceſſary nouriſhment, are brought from other places, and thoſe of Europe are furniſhed by other nations. O Portugueſe!

What

What are you doing? The poſſeſſion of Goa, and its dependencies alone, would ſuffice to enrich an active and populous nation, and yet the crown of Portugal gains nothing from the poſſeſſion of the place, but ſends every year, a conſiderable ſum to it. Certainly, the inhabitants are rich;—not at all, for they have ſcarcely enough to ſubſiſt on, and chuſe rather to ſpend their time in indolence and exterior devotion, than apply to trade and the cultivation of their lands. Notwithſtanding, we behold many dreſſes fringed with gold and ſilver, we ought not to rely on that falſe indication, in judging of the wearers fortune. All, or nearly all, are noble, or of extraction originally ſuch, which prevents their employing themſelves in any thing but politicks. There is only one man among them, that ſhould be reckoned in the number of the learned. It is, the Sieur Louis Menezes, who as to knowledge in natural hiſtory, merits univerſal eſteem. But alas! He is entombed in a country where no reſpect is paid to ſuch men, nor to any other ſcience than theology. Beſides he is not *noble*. How ſhould he be eſteemed by thoſe who are, or repute themſelves of the nobleſſe. He is a ſubject, who merits being known, by all the academies of Europe.

Another

Another perſon, who merits praiſes, and thanks, is Captain Joſeph Pereira De Macedo, commander of fort, and iſland of Naroa.

His character is good, jovial, liberal, polite, generous, and even great. It was he, who lodged, and had the care of the Engliſh officers who were ſick and wounded, on the return from Darwar, to whom he ſhewed all the attention in his power. His ſpouſe is worthy of him, which joined to the amiable qualities of his children, forms the complete model of a happy family. Naroa, is a ſmall iſland, formed by the Mandoüe, containing three pariſhes, and 5000 inhabitants, and is diſtant a coſs from the iſland on which Goa ſtands, and four from Pangin, where the governor reſides. Goa is in the moſt miſerable ſtate, the numerous churches, convents, and their Miniſters black and white, are the maſters of almoſt all the revenues. I have it from the mouth of the Archbiſhop himſelf, who was thanking the good God for it, that in his time it contained more than 2000 prieſts. The ſmall conqueſts, which Don Federic Cagliari, and Don Franciſco da Cunha, made in the neighbouring country, rounded ſufficiently well, the eſtates

of

of Goa, the lands of which, if cultivated, would be ſufficient to form and ſuſtain, a reſpectable degree of power among the Princes of India. For the lands of this government, are naturally very fertile, and appear very well calculated for producing Coffee, of the ſame quality as that of Arabia. Perhaps the Coffee ſhrub is here indigenous, the berry has been ſent to Europe, and was found (as people aſſure me) better than that of Moka. The diſtrict of Goa extends to the feet of the Gauts and for the ſpace of twenty miles that there are from the entrance of the port, to that part, we find only miſerable hamlets, and Bicholin, which people chuſe to decorate with the title of *town*; beyond that place, the Portugueſe have only a poſt guarded by about fifty natives, who from remaining there, have contracted the habits of the wild beaſts, with which they are ſurrounded, and when they have opportunity, make no ſcruple of exacting from paſſengers. It is ſaid, that ſoon or late the French will become maſters of the place; they would know how to derive great profit from it, and their activity would draw much advantage from all thoſe fine lands, mountains, and rivers. It is ſaid that the French have long deſired an eſtabliſhment on the high

high coaſt of Malabar; the Engliſh will not yield any to them, therefore the Portugueſe, muſt furniſh them with one. Perhaps that will be one of the firſt affairs, that the French nation will endeavour to execute, when their domeſtic troubles will have ceaſed. Ah! In what manner is it poſſible they can be ended? The Gauts! What a ſight! What a proſpect! The higheſt of thoſe mountains, is 724 feet from the top to the ſurface of the plain, on the Eaſt ſide. The calculation moſt exactly made, (and ſuffering the leaſt deductions) its perpendicular heigth from the baſe is 678 Engliſh feet. It is ſurrounded by many others, which form the moſt ſtriking perſpective, they are all covered with wood, and abound with different kinds of animals. Clouds, tempeſts, and thunder, are there formed, and ruſh forth under the feet of the ſpectator placed on the higheſt eminence; the thunder roars, and makes the mountains tremble on which he is placed, and the crackling ſound of the foreſts, inſpires horror. All is deſert to the diſtance of ſeveral coſs, wherever we turn the eyes. In this place the botaniſt, the mineralogiſt, and natural hiſtorian, may add much to his knowledge. Only a ſingle path exiſts, over dangerous rocks, or through ravines

vines hollowed by the torrents. A man can only follow it on foot, for it is impoſſible for a horſe to paſs. The animals are undiſturbed in their liberty; on the top of the higheſt of theſe mountains there is a plain, of nearly two coſs in circumference. Nature is there admirable in its vegetation, and its rare productions prove, that it is capable of being fertilized. A ſmall fortification in this ſpot, ſuſtained by ſeveral poſts, would render the paſſage impoſſible, to any one. Beyond the Gauts is the Bonſolo who commands the road, and who exacts money to a great amount, from travellers, when they are without ſufficient force to oppoſe him.

THOUGH the men of the woods have been frequently talked of, yet we find no deſcription of them, that is ſatisfactory. Thoſe of them who are to be met with pretty often in the vallies, and on the Gaut mountains, may furniſh matter enough, to ſatisfy the naturaliſts, if the government of Goa, would furniſh the neceſſary expence for gratifying ſuch curioſity. The ſituation of the mountains, ſcarcely permits the inquiſitive traveller to penetrate to them, and is the greateſt obſtacle we meet in purſuing diſcoveries out of the common and uſual paſ-

ſage,

ſage, acroſs thoſe horrible mountains. Yet I hazarded going out of the ordinary road, eſcorted by eight perſons well armed. I croſſed ſeveral vallies and climbed many hills. During the firſt day I only ſaw three tigers, of moderate ſize, at about the diſtance of ſixty paces; two of the number were ſleeping, but the third was walking about; ſeeing us, he ſtopped ſhort a little while, looked hard at at us, and then continued his walk, without ſhewing the leaſt ſurpriſe, or inclination to hurt us. I recroſſed the road, and made my people arrange under the trees what was neceſſary for the ſecurity of our repoſe during the night, and took care to keep up a good fire, and that the ſound of the Tom-tom ſhould not be diſcontinued. During the ſecond day, I became more courageous, I advanced towards the ſouth, and only ſaw ſome adders, and a number of apes of two colours. Some were entirely white, with a very long tail, the ſhape of the face almoſt flat, with the noſe a little turned up, the eyes not dark, with black eyebrows, having a circle of long black hair covering the whole ſpace from thence to the chin, whence hung down beards likewiſe black. They were in troops, and when I approached, diſcovered no fear but continued to play

about. I pretended to take aim at them, which when they obſerved, they ran away. The others were exactly ſuch as are ſeen at Bindraband A CULOTES ROUGES, but theſe were not ſo tame. We here paſſed the night as we had the preceding, and were diſturbed only by the apes, who uſed to come and place themſelves on the trees under which we were. On the third day I continued my journey to the S. W. at nine o'clock in the morning; we ſaw three animals together who walked on all fours, I ſtopped and they perceived me immediately, but after ſtaring at me, they ſeated themſelves and uttered very doleful cries. I advanced having my fuſil in my hands, and when at a ſmall diſtance, perceived others of the ſame ſpecies, I laid down my gun and approaching unaccompanied, imitated their cries poſture, and grimaces. In obſerving them attentively, I was not able to diſcover any exterior difference in them from the human body, that was very remarkable. Their bodies were covered with very ſhort hair, and except the ſkull, and pericranium, which were much ſunk, the reſt of the head had the appearance of the human one. The lower half of the leg and foot had no hair at all; their

ſhins

ſhins were of a dark cheſnut colour, and the fingers and toes, all of the ſame thickneſs and length. I made one of my people, bring bread, fruits, and meat, raw and dreſſed, which I made him throw at them, all of which they eat except the fleſh, which they only ſmelled at. They all eat with both hands, ſtanding up, and when they had finiſhed eating, ſet up a great cry, at which I was not much alarmed, judging it to expreſs thanks or entreaty. Therefore I threw ſome biſcuits to them, which they devoured. I then lay down at full length and my people imitated me, they approached, but when they ſaw one riſe, they all made off. When ſtanding they may be about four feet and a half high. The females are ſmaller, by half a foot perhaps, than the males. An hour afterwards I turned back, becauſe we ſaw the marks of the great paws of the tiger, or ſome other large animal. Some hours afterwards, we ſaw a kind of hut, the work of ſome intelligent being, perhaps one of the creatures I have mentioned. The different deſcriptions we have of the Ourang Outang do not perfectly ſuit theſe animals. Perhaps they are real ſavages. On my arrival at Goa, I communicated what I had ſeen, to the Governor, and Mr. Louis de Menezes who aſſured

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me, that ſeveral years before, people had brought one of them from the ſame woods, which walked on two feet, that he had learned to articulate ſeveral words, and had been tamed, but was always extremely melancholy. On giving him his liberty, he made off, and was never again ſeen. If Louis de Menezes was encouraged by any other academy than that of Liſbon, (of which he is a correſponding member,) he would be capable of giving to the public, much uſeful knowledge, not only relative to the men of the woods, but concerning Natural Hiſtory in general.

KONAPOOR and Berapoor are the firſt villages we meet beyond the Gauts. And if we mean to follow the road to Poonah, we find Baderalli, Raibonghu, Mirgie, Aſta, Iſlampoor, Tamba, Sattara, and Singar, all conſiderable villages, and whoſe territories are of the higheſt degree of fertility, in grain of every kind, cotton, and fruits. An army would have no difficulty, in traverſing this ſpace of fifteen ſmall days journey, and the ſeveral petty chiefs, who command thoſe tracks, are miſchievous, and courageous *only* towards *travellers*.

If on the contrary we intend to go to Hyderabad we proceed from Konapoor, to Belagham, Begare Cotte, and Modogallo, three places of ſome conſideration, on account of their trade and population. The laſt is the reſidence of a petty Nabob, a relation and dependant of Nizam Ali Khan. It has a fortreſs ſituated on a mountain that might make reſiſtance during a few days; it might almoſt equal Darwar, if it were kept in better order. After leaving this place, we come to Moſki, Tunge Badra, Balganoor, Bannoor, Adonis, and Gabboor, where there is another petty Nabob, dependant on Hyderabad; Ratchor, where the nephew of the Nizam lives, is diſtant four or five coſs. Ratchor has handſome and ſtrong walls, that are pierced for 30,000 muſqueteers. The ſituation of this town, and the lands annexed to it, might render its Nabob independant of the Nizam. But he aſpires to ſome thing greater. His father reigned at Hyderabad, and was maſſacred by the Nizam his brother; and it is to that city the eyes of the Nabob, are turned; always ready to make, and receive propoſals, from thoſe who would be willing to aid him, in executing his deſires. At three hours march from thence, travellers croſs the Kiſna

Kiſna, and in eight days of direct march, reach Hyderabad; on the road we find only ſmall villages, though the ſoil is excellent. The camp of the Nizam, when I was there, was as Pennegal. Seven weeks that I paſſed there, in the company of Sir John Kennaway, were ſufficient for me to diſcover that the forces of the Prince, were very weak, and that he is indebted to his artful and crafty policy, for the preſervation until now, what he yet retains. But there is reaſon to imagine, that his ſucceſſor will not repreſent ſo great a character, on that theatre. The fort of Pennegal, merits conſideration, it commands large plains, but is itſelf expoſed to a ſuperior elevation, at but a ſmall diſtance, whence much harm might be done to the place. Nizam Ali Kan who poſſeſſes the throne, in conſequence of having maſſacred his brother, is a man of knowledge; is keen, crafty and politick, as it is the faſhion of the country to be. He has trifled with the Europeans on ſeveral occaſions; is affable and tolerably poliſhed; is tall, has a long neck, and is very black. He deſires nothing but money, which he lays up in heaps every year, in the fort of Golconde, diſtant a ſmall league from Hyderabad, wherefore there is a great booty to be gained, by whoever

whoever takes poſſeſſion of the place. The government of the country is left entirely to the Dewan, who is cruel, avaricious and unjuſt. It is ſaid that he is as friendly to the Engliſh in reality, as the prince is inimical to them in his heart. People have never ſucceeded, in obtaining the Nizam's conſent in getting the Europeans who are in his ſervice diſmiſſed, for he is determined in his intention of retaining thoſe he has: he has perhaps an hundred of them. Several facts might here be adduced, to prove what I have advanced, but they are too perſonal to bear relation. The city of Hyderabad is large, and may contain 400,000 inhabitants, it is encompaſſed with merlans, having ſome guns here and there, but is without ditches and fortifications; except ſome ſtreets paſſable enough, the reſt of the city reſembles, what is every where ſeen in theſe countries. The chief decorations it has, are a handſome and ſuperb moſque with four minarets and the new palace, in the Mogul taſte, built by the Nizam, which is truly magnificent in appearance, and is delightful withinſide. Some ancient palaces conſtructed by Aurengzeb ſtill remain. The court is ſufficiently brilliant. The trade of Hyderabad is very ſmall, conſiſting in Shawls, Spices, and ſome trifles.

All the ſtates of the Nizam, to the ſouth of the Godavery, except Aurengabad, are in a poor condition. Even Aurengabad is no longer any thing but the ſhade of what it has been. If it did not contain the famous tomb, the ſtatues, and ſubterraneous places in its neighbourhood, I believe no ſtranger would ever viſit it willingly on motives of curioſity, and yet its territory is ſo fertile, and its ſituation ſo convenient for trade, that it ought to be the moſt commercial of the interior towns. The whole of the Nizam's ſubjects may be three millions, of whom, almoſt all are ſoldiers by profeſſion. Yet the effective total, of his army, is nearly 100,000 men. What ſoldiers! What a chief! What officers! Nothing but the will alone of the Engliſh government would be neceſſary, to enable them to rummage uncontrolled, the vaults of Golconde, and take thence the countleſs ſums buried pell mell along with diamonds, and other precious ſtones. Golconde is only diſtant a ſmall league from Hyderabad; it is ſituated on a mountain, pretty well provided with fortifications, and ſepoys, but could not reſiſt an attack for three days. In fine the whole force of the Nizam, would not make a conſiderable oppoſition to a detachment of the Engliſh army.

They who amuſe themſelves with the thought, that one day the Engliſh of India, will form in that country a ſtate independant of the mother country, perceive with ſome degree of pleaſure, that there is ſcarcely any power in the Peninſula, able to reſiſt them, there are ſome difficult paſſes, at which they might be retarded, for a ſhort time merely.

Since the Engliſh have been maſters of Guntoor and the four Circars, they command the paſſage on the Kiſna. The only obſtacle they would find in taking Hyderabad is Nalgonda, which would only reſiſt them a few hours; at preſent it is to be wiſhed, that they would ſeriouſly occupy themſelves in obtaining the knowledge of the frontiers of the Nizam, of Oriſſa, and Berar. All the lands on this ſide the river Bain-Ganga, as far as Tail, and Cattack, are but little known to the Engliſh. The woody tracks, wild beaſts, and the want of proviſions, are ſaid to be the cauſes of their ignorance. Yet the difficulties would diminiſh, if the government were to employ effectual means. The Marattas, who inhabit an extenſive tract of land in India, are in thoſe parts

ſuch as they are every where elſe; they would be the greateſt obſtacle to the perfect ſucceſs of the Engliſh though it ſhould not be forgotten that Nizam Ali-Kan, took and burned their capital. As to the lately formidable Tippoo, we now behold him reduced in his power. The generoſity, of the great man who effected that object, is praiſed; but people would have been more pleaſed at the annihilation of the preſent Myſorean government, and in ſeeing the rightful prince placed on the throne. We will here make ſome reflections, (till we reſume the diſcourſe), on the ſpace that the Ganges flows through, from Hardwar to Calcutta.

If in the time of the war, which has lately been concluded, Scindia had with his forces attacked the ſtates of the Nabob Vizier, and had endeavoured to overrun the parts bordering on the Ganges, he would have cauſed a conſiderable diverſion in favour of Tippoo. The Engliſh Brigades, in the upper countries, would perhaps have been able to reſiſt him, but not to have hindered him in his ravages, and they would have been obliged, either to recruit in haſte, or recal part of the forces acting in the Myſore. It was nevertheleſs

leſs a general report, that Tippoo, and Scindia, were going to unite their intereſts, and forces. But in that caſe, it is to be preſumed, that the Rajahs and other chiefs would have fallen on Hindooſtan, and the lands of Scindia. The Rajah of Jeepoor, the Nabob of Bopal, even his own officers, would have been eager to deſtroy or leſſen, the too great power of Scindia. His government, is ſtill in an unſettled ſtate, and all who are ſubject to him, deſire nothing more earneſtly, than to free themſelves from his power. The hatred borne to him is univerſal. He is not unacquainted with the diſpoſition of the people towards him, and therefore there is reaſon to conclude that he will never become the declared enemy of the Engliſh. It is more convenient to him, for his own intereſt, to be, or appear, their friend. The appearance alone, of good intelligence between them, has kept him from being attacked by ſeveral chiefs, which he knows well, and has full confidence in the good faith of the Engliſh. We ſee, that in conſequence of that reliance, he has ſeveral times left Hindooſtan ill provided with troops. But Scindia, will ſooner or later finiſh his mortal career, and on that occaſion, there will be many pretenders to the ſucceſſion,

ceſſion, and incurſions and invaſions will not be wanting. The Marattas, and other chiefs of flying camps, always ready to march, would anticipate by their ſwift invaſions the march of regular troops, who would ſcarcely be able to prevent their incurſions, and irruptions, even into the ſtates of the Nabob Vizier.

It would be a kind of anarchy, where pillage, cruelty, and devaſtation would be ſeen every where, the invaders would be cleared in every caſe, by retiring with full hands and coffers, promiſing to reſtore or make reparation for their plunder. This is one of the reaſons, why I have heard it ſaid, that it would be deſirable that the number of the miniſters of the government of Calcutta, at the courts of the black princes were augmented; for example at that of Bopal, of Jeepoor, of the king of Delhi, and others, and if poſſible to place one at Napaul, for it appears very proper that there ſhould be one there. Native Vakeels, maintained in ſeveral parts by the government, have not authority enough, on certain occaſions. The tract of country, from Calcutta to Agra, and Delhi, is fine, rich, and capable of ſatisfying the greateſt ambition, and the

moſt

moſt inſatiable avarice. Thoſe who are ignorant, of the political ſyſtem, of the Engliſh, reſpecting the acquiſition of new conqueſts, are not capable of divining, whether they deſire any or not: Yet theſe conqueſts are as eaſy as lucrative; but ſince thoſe made of late years, have been condemned and thought to be unjuſt, it appears almoſt certain, that they would have been reſtored to thoſe from whom they were taken, if the contrary had not appeared. But be the matter as it will, the government, makes conqueſts from time to time, and if there be reaſons to deſiſt on its *own* account, they would be juſt, in the cauſe of the king of Delhi, over his tyrants and invaders. The Engliſh, ought never to forget the particular favours, with which they were loaded by the generoſity, of the Mogul Emperors; and what ſhould leaſt be eraſed from memory, is the clemency of Aurengzeb, in the heigth of his formidable power, when he might, and perhaps ſhould have puniſhed rigorouſly, the criminal acts of CHILD, the unjuſt governor of Bombay; deteſted by all nations and more particularly by his countrymen. But he was content with chiding, and ſhewing his indignation, and afterwards with pardoning. Shah Allum, is one of his

great

great grand children. He is now to be ſeen ſeated on a ſmall piece of cloth, on a wretched mattraſs, behind him a ſmall pillow, part of which ſerves Shah-Ghi, the Governor of Delhi to lean on, and at his ſides, are ſeven or eight of his children, all grown up, who are accommodated ſtill worſe; the dreſs of all theſe Princes, is not worth two hundred Rupees. The King, blind, aged, decrepid his ſoul filled with bitterneſs, and chagrin, ſurrounded with thirty or forty domeſticks of every claſs, half naked, lean and with ſkins ſhrivelled from the effects of hunger, who proclaim their wants by their cries. The complaints from within the Seraglio are not fewer. It is hunger, that prevails there, and the effects of the miſery that overwhelms them. Shah-Ghi, a Fakeer by profeſſion, (which he has now forgotten) was conſtituted Governor of Delhi, and the King's palace, by Scindia, who has commiſſioned him to furniſh the King, with all the revenues of the Soubahſhip of Delhi, which he does not do, but keeps for his own uſe what he chuſes, and only gives his maſter, what he is not able to reſerve to himſelf, and that is very little. The inſults, affronts, and threats, that he treats the perſon of the King with, can not be ſufficiently deſcribed.

ed. No one can be fully convinced of them, but by ocular inſpection. When we read the paſſage in the life of Beliſarius, where he is repreſented old, poor and blind, and ſeated on a ſtone in the corner of a ſtreet, begging an Obolus from the people paſſing, we feel our hearts moved with pity for him, and rage againſt the authors of the atrocious injuſtice, committed againſt him; and there is no ſenſible mind that does not feel itſelf inflamed with anger, againſt Juſtinian. While the Engliſh, who value themſelves on their generoſity, and reckon ſenſibility one of the fineſt and moſt eſtimable qualities, of well born and cultivated ſouls; how is it, that in this caſe, the effects of that quality, of which the nation makes a parade, are not diſplayed?

As we ſometimes ſee a ſmall cloud, at firſt juſt perceptible, augment by degrees, acquire volume and end in a ſtorm whoſe effect are terrible, ſo appears the Rajah of Napaul. His ſituation is well enough known by the relations of perſons of undoubted credit who have paſſed through his country, whoſe ſteep frontiers render the inhabitants ſecure and tranquil on the part of the Engliſh, who know

know by experience, that it is not eaſy to paſs thoſe mountains. At the ſame time they prove the great difficulty of forcing them, they ſhew likewiſe, that the people of Napaul are capable of troubling the Engliſh poſſeſſions; already a conſiderable body of ſepoys has been formed, after the Engliſh diſcipline, by the preſent Regent, which he began, even atthe time that he was at Patna. Several Engliſh ſepoys, and a number of the non-commiſſioned officers diſbanded from the Company's ſervice, paſſed into the Rajah's country, and diſciplined others for him. They already have ſix thouſand muſkets with bayonets. Europeans lately gone into that country, are making more. Towards the month of May 1792, three European Portugueſe, went there who receive a good ſalary, which the Rajah pays them with punctuality either on the ſpot, at Patna, or at Calcutta, according as they chuſe, and they are beſides ſupplied with proviſions in a generous manner. Towards the middle of October, 1792, an Engineer of another nation, went there alſo, along with a ſubaltern. Others will likewiſe go there, and by degrees their number and quality augments, and may produce great effects. Such were nearly the beginnings of the power of Hyder

Ally

Ally long ſince, which being neglected, were ſtrengthened, and produced diſagreeable effects. The government of Napaul, will never have confidence in the Engliſh, it examines that nation, fears it, and keeps away individuals of it, as much as it can. When the throne of Delhi, was uſurped by the Muſſelmen, many Hindoos and particularly Rajpoots, ſought refuge in Napaul, which they at length ſeized on, and maſſacred almoſt all the natives of the country, even the reigning family, of which only one, a child was ſaved. The Rajpoots, at preſent reign in Napaul, and the few natives who have remained, are in ſlavery; their occupation is, to cultivate the grounds, their figure, features, language, manners, and religion, are Chineſe, with ſome mixture. It requires three month's march, to go from the Eaſt to the Weſt boundary of their dominions; and twenty days to traverſe the limits from the South to North. The revenues of Napaul, at preſent are pretty conſiderable, in proportion to the country. They are derived from the lands, from a capitation tax, from ſome excluſive privileges granted to particular perſons, and on the gold and ſilver coin ſtruck for Thibet. The Rajpoots of Napaul, are, or may be made

good ſoldiers. Perhaps that country, whoſe exiſtence was ſcarcely known not long ſince, will become ſooner or later the ſeat of the ſovereigns of thoſe plains who now rule at the feet of their mountains.

He who firſt inhabited and peopled the valley of Napaul, according to the tradition of the country, was Sombren, king of Delhi, who had been driven from his territories by an uſurper, or a rival. Sombren thus perſecuted, ſought refuge, juſt below the mountains of Napaul, where he fortified himſelf. His fort ſtill exiſts, and is called Sombren Ghur; this retreat in its whole extent, is capable of affording a dwelling place to 40,000 inhabitants, is conſtructed of excellent bricks, which the neighbouring Engliſh uſe now, for their buildings. In this aſylum, Sombren ſecured himſelf during twelve years, but preſſed by his enemy, he at length paſſed the mountains, and ſettled with his people at Napaul. From him it is, that the three immediate Rajahs, before the uſurpation of the Rajpoots, were deſcended. It is aſſerted, that the only perſon, remaining of the family of thoſe Rajahs, is at Dacca. The Epocha of Sombren, is as far back, as ſeveral ages before the exiſtence of Alexander.

They

Thoſe who travel on the ſide of Bethia, may there ſee two columns, from the inſcriptions on which, the learned have matter to exerciſe themſelves. The firſt lies at ſeven coſs weſt from Bethia, it is twenty-ſeven cubits in heigth, and ſeven in circumference, perhaps it is concealed in the earth to the depth of ſeveral cubits. It is not eaſy to diſcover, whether it be a compoſition, or a ſtone; it is of a dark brown colour, and preſents the ſame exterior appearance, as the Pyramids of Egypt; it is certainly of a ſingle piece, and when ſtruck with force, by a wooden hammer, yields a concentrick ſound but by one of iron, emits a ſound that is excentrick; it does not come off in ſcales. The ſurface is inſcribed, in its whole length and circumference; though the characters are unknown, yet, among them may be diſtinguiſhed ſeveral of the ancient Greek letters.

The other column, is at the oppoſite ſide of Bethia, and almoſt as the ſame diſtance; it is rather ſmaller, and on the top there is a tiger in ſtone, of the ſame kind, covered with the ſame characters. Below, there are lines in the Arabian language, importing that the column was erected, in memo-

ry

ry of a victory that Alexander gained, in that ſpot. If theſe columns are not a compoſition, whence could they have been brought? The mountains bordering on Napaul, contain a different ſort of ſtone, and the neareſt that are ſimilar, are what are at a ſmall diſtance from Benares.

THEY who are perſuaded, that Alexander did not extend his conqueſts thus far, perhaps will be rather inclined to attribute the erection of the columns to Sombren. But as there is no proof to eſtabliſh that perſuaſion, it appears more natural to aſſign the ſtructures to Alexander, or to his Æra. For beſides that there are ſeveral ſtrong arguments to demonſtrate that this famous conqueror advanced even as far as Dacca, a paſſage of his life related by his cotemporary hiſtorians, ſeems capable of producing conviction that theſe columns were erected by him. For they ſay that he carried his arms "to the extremity of the earth." And ſurely when he came into the neighbourhood of Dacca, the ſteep, high, and inacceſſible mountains, like barriers to the earth, muſt neceſſarily have ſtopped him; and his hiſtorians might have thence thought themſelves juſtified in ſaying that he had been at "the extremity of the earth."

YET

YET it appears, that if a detachment from an army, advanced towards Bethia, as if they really intended to attack the posts, on the mountains, and force them, all the troops of Napaul, would assemble, to dispute the passages, which would render it very easy to another party, that had already passed the Gogra, at Fyzabad, to advance rapidly, towards the Rapty, which is generally fordable; and from thence to the first Gaut is only a day's march. At the foot of it there is a village, still belonging, to the Nabob Vizier. From this place, named Flakypoor, we must proceed direct to the South, to gain a pretty convenient passage leading to the small river Gudduck. A passenger even without a great escort, may easily proceed as far as Gudduck. Yet I was assured, by the inhabitants of these countries, that there is no other Gaut, difficult to pass, as far as Cattamandu. So that Napaul, would not be impregnable on that side, but as the English army, has been at Hardwar, and even Sirinaghur, where the difficulties of the Gauts, are not less, it would not be incredible, that it should be able to enter Napaul. Notwithstanding that country is not very rich, yet its frontier situation, in respect to Thibet, and its proximity to China, renders it of con-

conſequence, even as to trade. They who intend travelling that way, ſhould endeavour to paſs the Gauts, in the winter time, for otherwiſe they riſk much, owing to the noxious air. The tract of country, between Delhi and Hardwar, is the length of four days journey; the ſoil poſſeſſes the greateſt degree of fertility, as it does, throughout the whole extent, of this Meſopotamia of Hindooſtan. But alas! the ſcourge of deſtruction, has paſſed over that country likewiſe. We ſee nought but ruins and uncultivated lands. The few cultivators to be ſeen, are the Gugers, who diſturb both peace and order. No one is capable of deſcribing more exactly theſe parts, than Major Rennel has, ſo I ſhall only ſay in this place, that the violence of the waters, has eaten away much from the two banks, a little above Koupel, and that the quantity of earth and rocks that have been precipitated into it, will ſoon cloſe or much impede the paſſage of the waters, if the fall of the earth and the rocks ſhould always increaſe, and the ſtrength of the current be inſufficient to carry them off. Several marſhes have already been formed, which render the air very unwholeſome.

FROM Hardwar to Anopſheer, and even as far as Futtyghur, the whole length of the banks of the Ganges, are covered to a diſtance of ſeveral miles inward, with buſhes and ſhrubs, to the heigth of eight or ten feet. The tigers lye there concealed, and exactly at the moment that they are going to drink, or return from drinking, the crocodiles wait for them, attack, wound, and kill them. The greateſt ſtrength of that amphibious animal, exiſts in the tail; when he ſeeks to retreat into water, he is ſeen to give ſeveral ſtrokes with his tail, to maſſive ſtones, that he throws about on all ſides: his mouth is big enough to ſwallow a tiger entire, and his numerous long and pointed teeth, are ſufficient to cruſh him, in three minutes; the people of the country cloſe to Hardwar, have aſſured me, that the crocodile's eggs, are good and delicate food. The animal is revered as ſacred, which is the reaſon that people are averſe to deſtroying it, or diminiſhing its monſtrous breed. It ſeldom attacks mankind except by ſtealth, when they draw their prey into the water, and there ſwallow them. The crocodiles of the Jumna, are not ſo large, for they have never been found that I know, longer than four feet and a half, nor more than one foot in diameter;

meter; *they* are alſo in great abundance and very often attack a man while ſwimming or fording the water. And yet there are crocodile hunters, who ſearch for them, who with addreſs ſucceed in ſqueezing them very cloſely, and confine them ſo forcibly, to their breaſts, that they ſtifle them. On the ſame river, above Delhi, where the country is uncultivated, and uninhabited, we ſee them on the banks by thouſands, but they are very far from reſembling thoſe of St. Domingo, where children play with them, without the leaſt riſk. For theſe are enemies to mankind they perceive them by the ſcent, and follow them even ſome miles, into the country. It appears, that the crocodiles of the Ganges, may be claſſed in two ſorts. One that has a round head, with green eyes, very dark; the other having a long pointed head, which is perhaps the Alligator. Theſe laſt contain muſk, lying under the ſcales, which they ſeveral times ſhed. They have no particular bladder for it. The head of one of the laſt kind, which I have in my poſſeſſion is two feet in length, and has more than a hundred teeth, which ſhews what they are capable of. Buffon has aſſerted, that *every* animal with ſcales, is oviparous. The crocodiles lay nearly one hundred

deed eggs of a dirty brown, and nearly the ſize of a ſix pound ball, by which we may diſcover, to what numbers their race can be multiplied. They leave them on the banks, and when the tigers find them, they devour them in the egg: But very often the tigers remain on the field of battle, dead, or wounded, after an engagement with the old crocodiles. The inhabitants of the country carry them to the neareſt Engliſh commandants, by whom they are recompenſed at the rate of ten rupees each. It would be eaſy to exterminate almoſt all theſe animals if people choſe, with poiſon, whoſe chief ingredient ſhould be Leander.

ANOPSHEER, and Futty Ghur, having each on the whole ſix battalions, with a ſmall body of cavalry, are expoſed to inſults, from the Siques, in particular. They ſometimes range themſelves to the number of ſeveral thouſands, without the lines, on the other territory, and there wait in ſafety the opportunity of plundering.

THEY cannot be attacked, becauſe they are out of the Nabob Vizier's domains, and thoſe of Furruckabad; and it is not before they have ac-

compliſhed their deſign, that any remedy is applied. It is chiefly in theſe territories, where the utility and advantage of cavalry, over infantry, is known. The facility with which government, could purchaſe horſes, ſhould induce the augmentation of cavalry. Camel-Gheng, Hibraimabad, Macarendenaghur, Arrol, Porah, and Soubipoor, are the only conſiderable places we meet with, from Futty Ghur to Cawnpoor. After what Major Rennel has ſaid, of Cannoge, it would appear indubitably to be the ancient Polibotra, if other learned criticks, had not found the contrary. Cannoge, at preſent conſiſts entirely of ruins and rubbiſh.

ANoo, Gillotra and Tekitgheng, are the ordinary ſtages from Cawnpoor to Lucknow, in travelling ſlowly. This city was of no conſideration, when the Nabob reſided at Fyzabad. The preſent Nabob, having choſen it for his reſidence, immediately all people of fortune or of expectation from the court imitated him, in conſtructing great edifices. The Imambara, may be compared to the buildings of the grand Moguls. But this Nabob, might employ his treaſures better. His revenues,

ſaid

ſaid by people to amount to two crores and a half, diſappear as ſmoke. Some people ſay, that he has no children, and others that he has. He therefore will have them, or will not, juſt as he chuſes. I am not a judge of men of capacity, therefore know not which be the truth, but can well aſſert, that he is very charitable, ſince he ſupports at a great expence, a very large number of Apes, Adders, tigers, dogs, birds, cocks, and all ſorts of Quadrupeds, bipeds, and reptiles.

His rage for building is ſo great, that he pulls down what is good and handſome, in the caſtle of Allahabad and has is tranſported to Lucknow, to be employed in the new buildings. Thus the poor fort of Allahabad, ſo majeſtically and advantageouſly ſituated, at the conflux of two fine rivers, calculated to be the center of government and commerce, is no longer of conſequence, and has remaining only its impoſing walls, and a column with an inſcription, in the ſame characters, as thoſe of the column of Pheros Shah. The territory of Allanabad, appears very proper for Indigo, Cotton, Silk, and Tobacco, the ſame properties in the ſoil are invariably to be obſerved at Mirzapoor,

Chunar

Chunar, Benares, and throughout all the neighbouring lands; and the manufactures of Indigo are augmented in that degree, and appear in ſuch a ſtate of increaſe, that it may be apprehended, that the price of that production, will fall too much, to permit them to be continued. Benares, which inſpires a certain veneration, from the ſanctity of the name, and place, contains nothing great, either relative to its exterior, or the celebrated ſchools of the Bramins, unleſs it be an obſervatory, which is ſtill worth ſeeing, and the great Moſque, which was formerly, the moſt ancient and venerated Pagoda. Two other Pagodas, very much frequented, in the midſt of the city, have nothing particular in the architecture. The old city of Benares, at two coſs from the modern one, really no longer exiſts, but its ruins furniſh ancient ſtatues, for the gardens of modern times. The Engliſh have founded and maintain there a kind of univerſity, where ſeveral Bramin profeſſors, teach different branches of ſciences. The ſcholars in it of every age are about 150. The building is very ſmall, and too mean for the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. Perhaps in time, we may derive ſome advantage from this eſtabliſhment, but it is a generous mark of the benevolence of the Calcutta

Calcutta government, towards the Hindoos. Mr. Duncan is the Preſident of it, who beſides rules the whole Zemindary, and appears in truth, expreſsly created by providence, for that country. His intelligence, affability, firmneſs, goodneſs, and his manners, have procured him from thoſe he governs, the ſentiments that he merits, and he, who obſerves him with attention, muſt admire him.

RAMNAGHUR, oppoſite to Benares on the banks of the Ganges, is intereſting. The caſtle of the Rajah, his palace, gardens, religious reſervoir for water, the Pagoda, roads, and a number of other great works attract attention. The ſoil on that ſide, appears to be better for the cultivation of Indigo. The preſent Rajah is but a phantom entirely incapable of good or ill. His predeceſſor (who as people ſay, is a refugee among the Marattas,) is of quite another character, and ſhould he one day, obtain any conſiderable ſuccour, he might diſturb the preſent tranquility. It would not aſtoniſh people, that in ſuch a caſe, all the Hindoos, ſhould declare for him. Benares has a great concourſe of ſtarngers. The Marattas, ſometimes amount to thouſands, and their manner of behaving convinces

convinces people, that they do not love conſtraint, for they know, that the forces at Chunar, cannot in caſes of neceſſity arrive here, before they have accompliſhed their crimes, if they be not otherwiſe prevented. Which is an obſervation already made on Gyah, where the Marattas act in the ſame manner, and worſe, ſince there are only two companies of Seapoys there, and Dinapoor is too diſtant, to procure men from thence. It is hoped, that the battalion at Benares, will be augmented, and that a whole one may be ſtationed at Gyah.

It cannot readily be decided, which of the two places, Benares or Gyah, is the moſt holy. There is ſcarcely a ſtone, a rock, mountain, or tree at Gyah, which has not been rendered ſacred by ſome God. There is at that place nothing ſtriking, except the new Pagoda, not yet finiſhed, though it has already coſt more than eight lacks of Rupees, being built by the order, and at the charge of Heliabaj, a Maratta lady. Bot Gyah is diſtant three coſs, and is the reſidence of a great Fakeer, who has a multitude of inferior ones, with him. The place is ſacred, but the craft of the Fakeer, has given it its greateſt celebrity. He appears

pears to have an excellent underſtanding, and ſome taſte, but his haughtineſs and pride, are inſupportable. Such a man, is capable of doing either much good or much harm.

At ſix coſs from Gyah, is Kadder Gheng, a pretty large village, the mountains adjoining to which, are five Engliſh miles in extent, and contain ſeveral very curious caves, of which the moſt ſingular, are thoſe above the Armenian village, on a level part, of the firſt mountain we arrive at; they are excavated in the rock, which conſiſts of beautiful granite, poliſhed to ſuch a degree, as to appear like ſteel; they form ſeveral apartments, of which only the firſt, admits the light, that enters from the outer aperture, for the reſt are lighted artificially; the ſize of each is fourteen feet ſquare, and eight feet high; in them are ſeveral idols of the Hindoos, and yet according to the tradition of the country, they are the work of an Armenian. In the preſent age when we ſpeak of an Armenian, we mean an Armenian Chriſtian, which term is ill underſtood. For there are very few, properly ſo called, ſince Shah Abbas carried off the greater part of them into Perſia, and diſperſed

perfed the reſt. Therefore it may be enquired, whether the Armenian we ſpeak of, was a Chriſtian, or Muſſelman. For every Armenian, ſhould be a native of the country he derives his name from, whereas the term is generical. But there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that he was neither Armenian, nor Chriſtian. Chriſtianity, was not propogated in Armenia, before the fourth century, ſome what before the firſt general council; before that time, there were many Armenians, but none that were Chriſtians. Mahometiſm was introduced into the country, three ages afterwards. Therefore, he who hollowed out the caverns of Kadder-Gheng, was a Pagan, ſince before the age of Chriſtianity, all were Pagans, except the PEOPLE ELECT. The exterior worſhip, of this Pagan Armenian, was the ſame as that of the others in India: which is proved by the ſimilarity of the form of the Idols, and manner of praying, of the ablutions and the priveledges of the miniſters, and of the religion; which was therefore the ſame in India and in Armenia, whether the religion was diſſeminated by ſome apoſtle, or the founder himſelf. Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe the contrary? For if we conſult all the monuments, that the hiſtories preſent us with, and remarking the

the poſition of this Peninſula on our planet, connected by a chain of mountains, to a plain, the moſt elevated on the continent, and the moſt remote from the irruptions of the ſea, we may be aſſured, that it is the country the moſt anciently inhabited. The Greeks, were acquainted with it, before the exiſtence of Pythagoras. The Æra of the Armenian of Kadder Gheng, (according to tradition more than 4000 years ago) does not appear abſurd, in its date. But we will ſpeak elſewhere on that ſubject. The inſcriptions to be ſeen on the walls, and over the gates, are undoubtedly in two different characters; the forms of the one, are ſuch as are on the columns of Bethia, and the others approach ſo nearly the modern Armenian characters, that they cannot be miſtaken. The ancient characters we ſee on the medals of Tigranes, appear ſimilar to theſe. At the foot of the mountain, we have mentioned, there is a ſmall village in which dwells an old man, to whom the care of the caverns is conſigned; people call him the Armenian, but the tales he relates are too groſs, and abſurd, for to entertain the public with.

At the college of Patna, named after the Seiks,

and (where pure deiſm is taught,) there are many other uſeleſs monuments of the ſame kind. The land it poſſeſſes might ſupport a more uſeful inſtitution. The few Fakeers who paſs a moſt voluptuous life there in indolence, are ſaid to communicate intelligence, to their chief men in the Seik country, and in other reſpects are like all the reſt. If encouraged, they will compleat the labour, of rendering the people, beſotted by their example, and diſcourſes; but if neglected, would take offence, and become dangerous, and factious. And theſe proud beings ſap the foundations of the ſovereign power, when they can, and to ſucceed in their plans do not ſcruple to debaſe by their raſh inſolence, the civil laws, and even thoſe of their own religion. It is well known, that theſe Seik Fakeers diſpatch every where the news that reſpects the government, ſo that at Lahor, Tenaſſar and elſewhere, what they think the governor deſigns to do, is known in as ſhort a time, as a courier can convey the intelligence. If we aſk them what becomes of the conſiderable revenues of the college as they are Fakeers and do nothing, we are anſwered, that they deſtine them for their brethren.

PYTHAGORAS,

PYTHAGORAS, Democritus, and many others who travelled into India, to gain inſtruction from the leſſons of the Gymnoſophiſts, brought back with them to their countrymen, the dogmas of ſome caſt or other of the Indian ſages, under whom they ſtudied. Timœus of Locris, was the forerunner of Pythagoras, as was *he* of ſome other founder of religion. It is not ſaid that JESUS CHRIST had been in India, to derive thence the doctrines of the religion, *he* founded; yet it is not improbable that he might have travelled to that country. People generally divide the Indian ſages, into three claſſes: the Brachmans, Iamanceus, and the Pranines; it is too difficult to determine, what are the particular characteriſtics, that diſtinguiſh them from each other; but we know, that thoſe three ſects avoided the ſociety of mankind, that they dwelt in foreſts caverns, and inacceſſible places, that their manner of living did not include any ſort of animal food, or liquors; that their bed was the earth and nakedneſs, was preferred to cloathing. The ancients of theſe ſects were ſo attached to the auſterity of their lives, that ſeveral among them called by the Great King into his preſence, anſwered that he might come himſelf to meet them, if he deſired to learn any

things

thing, or had orders to communicate to them. It was inſenſibility and not fortitude, that enabled them to ſupport heat, cold, hunger, and thirſt. Whether to live, or die by the ſword, fire, or water, was very indifferent to them; and they feared much more, the approach of a woman, than all the ſpirits collected in a body. The Rabbins who pretend that Adam was an hermaphrodite, and that God created two women for him, have never choſen to believe the women to have been in like manner hermaphrodites; and yet among the Pranines, it was an article of belief, that they were ſuch, at the creation of things; wherefore not finding them, as they believe they ſhold be, they avoid them, as having degenerated from their primæval nature. But thoſe Dogmas were confined to ſeveral individuals of the ſect only, for we know, that among them there were women exactly reſembling thoſe of our days, whom they were accuſtomed to part with, at the end of five years, if they were found barren. We have another proof; for it was ſaid that they did not permit themſelves any intercourſe with them except twice in the year, and were ſatisfied in their minds, as to their engagements with nature, if they had iſſue two children; one for the man, another for the

the woman. A practice really worthy of the Philoſophers, of thoſe times, (who had no employment) was to aſſemble daily at the ſame table, and there interrogate each other concerning the mode of employing the day, and thoſe who had done nothing, either good or bad, were excluded, from the aſſembly. From theſe Gumnoſophiſts, ſprung other ſects, of which the principal, are thoſe of Buddas, Dandanis, Calanue, and Jarka. The ſect of the Hylobians founded by Buddas, is the moſt ſavage. We find theſe ſectariſts even yet, in great numbers among the Talengas, and in the Maratta countries.

If Oneſicritus was ſent by Alexander to Dandanis, as there is reaſon to think, we may judge of him and his doctrine by the wiſe anſwer he received when he ſent to that conqueror. "I diſapprove your conduct (ſaid he to Oneſicritus) ſince you refer the law of man to that of nature, and with *your* acquiſitions in knowledge, you are not ignorant, that the beſt abode is that, where there are the feweſt cares." The Douab abounds with theſe ſectariſts, who are the moſt inſolent creatures to be met with; they are even dangerous, and inſult thoſe who wiſh to be undiſturbed, irritate, and provoke them, and

and it is a very indifferent matter to them, whether people are offended with their behaviour or not. According to appearance, Pythagoras imbibed his doctrine from Buddas, or Dandanis. The metempſichoſis of thoſe two ſages, is ſimilar to that of the Grecian Philoſopher, but they extend the application much farther. For not only they eat no fleſh, but keep their mouths always ſhut, and covered with a kind of folded cloth, that they may not ſwallow or kill by the ſtrength of their breath, the ſwarms of animalcules with which they ſay the air is filled; which is a cloſe coincidence with the religious doctrine of the Pythagoreans, and the ſame may be obſerved in their aſtronomical ſyſtems. For while the other Hindoos, maintain the ſyſtem that is called Ptolemaick, the ſectariſt of Buddas only (if I am not in an error) teach the other; which though firſt of all introduced into Europe by Pythagoras, fell into oblivion, until reproduced by Copernicus, and was at laſt ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed by Newton, on ſuch mathematical and phyſical foundations, as never to be ſhaken.

The end that Calanus put to his exiſtence ſhews him, to have been really perſuaded of the truth

truth of his doctrines, and at the ſame time his ſincere repentance, of having given to himſelf another maſter, beſides the divinity. The contempt with which this ſage was treated by all the others for having adhered to the counſels of Taxillus to follow Alexander, made him thoughtful, and to expiate his crime he burned himſelf. To honour his memory, the Macedonian Conqueror, inſtituted equeſtrian combats, and annual games. Hiſtory has tranſmitted nothing certain, nor even probable, concerning Jarka. The fables related of him, merit not a place here. One matter alone that can be attributed to him with certainty is, that he ſaid the world was compoſed of five elements, earth, fire, water, air and œther, this is perhaps the only mark by which we can diſtinguiſh his diſciples, the greateſt part of whom are about Mattra, Dig, Aloar, and Jeepoor. But otherwiſe the religious doctrine of the Hindoos, is now no longer the ſame in every reſpect, as it has been; either it is too much concealed, or loſt, or has been changed. But perhaps, it has yielded its place, to the dogmas that one Xekia has diffuſed, and with which India is infeſted. If Spinoſa had been acquainted with theſe countries, it might have been ſuſpected that he had

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derived his doctrine from Xekia, ſo great is the conformity between them.

The endleſs multiplicity of caſts does not permit us to ſpeak of all with clearneſs, ſo as to make all their differences be perceived. But it is eaſy to obſerve every where, in their tenets, doctrines, ſigns, and ceremonies, Judaiſm and Chriſtianity. Before he publiſhed the laws of the tables, Moſes had paſſed many years in the different parts of Egypt and Arabia. They were the only two countries *beyond the line* that had intercourſe with India, and it would not be abſurd to ſuſpect, that this firſt legiſlator derived ſome matters from the Indian doctrine. We know by his hiſtory, that he was keen, ſkilful, imperious, and choleric, which qualities produce pride and vanity. To raiſe himſelf a name, he might have taken ſome opinions from the Indians, and have mixed others with them. His conduct was objected to by his brethren themſelves, when he ſeemed deſirous young as he was, to be ſuperior to them, and to arrogate to himſelf, the character of a judge. His behaviour while with Jethro, was not entirely civil. Who knows, whether it was not on that occaſion, that he meditated and compil-

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ed ſome part of what he publiſhed, ſeveral years afterwards. His affinity by marriages to that Pontiff, and the dignity he ſaw him poſſeſs, might have been one of the chief cauſes, that induced him at length to become a legiſlator, among a nation of ſlaves, cruſhed by toils, and miſery. But what muſt be ſaid of the order he gave his people to rob from neighbours and friends? I would aſk this queſtion; if a man in *our* time ſhould be found in the commiſſion of ſuch arts, how would the police treat him?

If the chriſtian religion of the preſent age, was ſuch as Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted it, we might more readily diſcover its ſource and real origin; and in that caſe, have no ſcruple to ſay, that he was a true Eſſenian. Its moral was the ſame as that of Zeno and the Indian ſages, differently arranged and modified; and chriſtianity ſhould contain the ſame likewiſe, without the addition of thoſe dogmas which he never preſcribed. We read the life of Jeſus Chriſt in the ſacred hiſtory, and in it, his moſt private actions, his words, the leaſt matter that reſpected him, until he attained the age of twelve years. Several of his actions, and words, appear of the greateſt indifference, and yet the Evangeliſts

have remarked them. Whence is it, that they no longer mention him, till he had attained his thirtieth year, when he began to execute his miſſion? For it is only mentioned, that he was ſubject to his father, and mother, and was increaſing in age, knowledge and grace, before God and men; it certainly well becomes a boy to be ſubject to his parents, but except *that* the expreſſion is of too general a meaning, for any particular conſequence to be deduced from it; after the little details of his infancy, and comprehending at moſt the ſpace of eighteen years, this ſlight account does not very well content reaſoners; it might be alledged, that a young man may be *ſubject to his parents*, even when at a diſtance from them. Which is ſufficient to incline us to ſuppoſe, that Jeſus Chriſt, being from his youth exactly in the places whoſe inhabitants were engaged in trade with India, he might likewiſe travel to, and paſs ſeveral years in that country, and in that time form acquaintance with the Indian ſages, whoſe doctrines might well pleaſe him being pure and ſimple. On his return he might have commenced preaching what he had ſeen and heard, having before hand purified the religion of its ſuperſtitions, and traditions. It is certain, that

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he did not himſelf inſtitute all the doctrines, that Chriſtianity now contains, but the brains of his diſciples, and the enemies of the new religion, having become warmed, they have choſen to add ſome after the death of Chriſt. The councils, particular churches, the ſaints, inſpirations, traditions, and even ignorance, as well as belief, and more than all, the fury of dogmatiſing, having taken poſſeſſion of the Roman churches, and academies, chriſtianity has been inundated with novelties. Chriſt diſappeared, and idols were again ſeen. The ſimplicity of the religion of Chriſt vaniſhed, and the ceremonies of the gentiles, reſumed their former place, all which by diſfiguring the religion one ſide, ſhew at the ſame time, its firſt origin. Such a ſuppoſition is not impious, nor contrary to his divine miſſion. Jeſus Chriſt might have been ſent by the *Almighty*, who might likewiſe have directed his ſteps. He might have diſpoſed of him otherwiſe, and alſo he might not have been able; he might have accompliſhed the redemption of mankind without the miſſion of his ſon, but has not. And it is particularly here that we may exclaim, with the prophet of the gentiles, that "The LORD is unaccountable in his ways, and inſcruta-

ble in his judgments;" the only very perceptible and unfortunate difference, that we can clearly perceive, between the chriſtian morality and that of the Indian ſages is, that the firſt gains proſelytes and is deteſtable when intolerant, has been a ſource of much bloodſhed which has ignominiouſly inundated a great portion of the earth; which is a convincing reaſon even to demonſtration, that the chriſtian religion, after the death of its founder, no longer remained what it was. "Baptiſe, preach; (ſaid he) they who believe ſhall be ſaved, but thoſe who do not, will be condemned." But he never ſaid, *burn* thoſe who will not believe, and he has not ordered that people ſhould believe, what he never promulgated. He only left to the church, the regulation of diſcipline, and ceremonies. The mildneſs and goodneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, would not permit him, to iſſue ſanguinary orders, and lay the foundations of an intolerant religion; and He the ſon of GOD, not having a ſpot to repoſe his head on, in this world, could not have been the ſovereign chief of a Church, the Vicar of which claims all the kingdoms of the world as his property; therefore it is a *different* religion than that which Chriſt has founded; and what he

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promulgated to be followed, conſiſts of other doctrines, and is perhaps what the Indian ſages now follow. Witneſs the inhabitants of Samos, the country of Pythagoras, who had inſtructed them in what he had brought from India, who anſwered the prophets when they preached to them the Goſpel; "This is the doctrine of our Pythagoras," and yet the myſteries of the Indian Mythology, abound much more in agreeable and charming images, than thoſe of the Chriſtian. But the maſters of errors, (venerated and paid for the beſotting the human ſpecies,) have overturned every ſimple idea, and the Bramins are ſo proud of their origin, (which they aſſert proceeds from God without the leaſt doubt) that they would think, they degraded themſelves in coveting even ſovereign rule. But it is quite otherwiſe in Europe. The Pontiffs both great and ſmall, are very fond of reigning. The Bramins of India in one reſpect reſemble thoſe of Europe, that they are pleaſed in ſeeing rulers at their feet, and by dint of charging their character with a miſſion from the divinity, they have ſucceeded in placing on the deceived people their reſpectable chains. In Europe the nations at length clearly ſee; in India they are dimſighted, and there are

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more ignorant perſons, than blind ones; he who invented the caſts, one above the other in preeminence, was the moſt politick deſpot that ever exiſted, and it is there ſeen, that the miniſters of religion, have arrogated to themſelves, an unjuſt and deteſtable preeminence in ſociety. Never had the firſt inſtitutor in a ſimilar matter foreſeen ſuch an affair the happineſs of the people, but only his own intereſt, and that of his inexhauſtible poſterity.

And yet two of the firſt prineiples inherent in man, his happineſs, and preſervation, do not produce in the Indian, the effects deſired; the repugnance at ſeeing every ſenſible being (and more particularly an intelligent being) periſh, is nevertheleſs the conſequence reſulting from theſe principles. The good man, will never do ill, to any living creature, except for his own preſervation. It is to this, as well as the belief of the tranſmigration of ſouls, that we ſhould attribute the averſion of the majority of the Indians, to killing animals, and feeding upon their fleſh, and yet among them, they kill from religious motives MEN, who endure ſufferings. In going out from the Hoſpital of Surat, where I had been to look at the animals and groveling reptiles kept

kept there, I beheld at the gate three men dying with hunger. If it be true, that love of ſelf, is engendered by reaſon, which ſtrengthens it (ſince before the dawnings of reaſon, man has ſomething that makes him feel the troubles of his fellow creature and inclines him naturally and forcibly to wiſh to alleviate them) it muſt be ſaid, that it is only by reflection that he does good, as often as he wiſhes and has it in his power. Thus the Bramins who ordain or tolerate the murder of the ſick who linger nnder diſeaſes, act in contradiction to the natural principles, and thoſe of their belief, and are deteſtable people. There are in Hindoſtan, a kind of provincial Comedians, who travel about to repreſent their farces. In conſidering them well, we ſee very clearly the origin of the Greek fables, which the Egyptians borrowed from the Indians and which were brought thence, to Greece, and Rome. Cupid, Apollo, Minerva, Neptune, and the Gods and Goddeſſes, had reigned already in India, before they were known by the Greeks and Romans. Several writers have left it recorded to us, that the Egyptians borrowed their mythology and learning, from the Ethiopians; but it well known, that in ſpeaking of the Ethiopians they mean the Indians, for the

Ethiopians,

Ethiopians, were named Indians by the ancients, and vice verſa. It is agreed that in the remote times of which we ſpeak, Ethiopia, (properly ſo called) had nothing that the Egyptians could profit by; on the contrary in India we find (as has been proved) whatever the Greeks or the Egyptians believed in thoſe times, on the ſcore of religion. The Arabians, and particularly the inhabitants of the Peninſula of Arabia, thoſe of the Gulph of Buſſorah, and the Red Sea, traded naturally to India, from the proximity of their countries.

PYTHAGORAS and the other Philoſophers did not travel into Ethiopia for inſtruction, but to India.

I CANNOT finiſh this article without mentioning what is ſeen at the outſide of the fort of Allahabad. There are ſeveral pagodas, in which are idols, that for the moſt part, if tranſported in the ſtate they are to the Roman churches, might paſs for the different ſaints. But the moſt ſtriking, is that which has a rectangle triangle on its head, and a young man, that appears coming out from its boſom; it is a venerable figure, with a white beard,

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and preciſely reſembles the repreſentation of the Almighty, and the *word* proceeding from him; the triangle in both caſes, is the ſymbol of the unity and trinity, of the divinity. The creative, the preſerving and avenging God, form but one deity, in the Indian mythology; though ſeveral times incarnate. There is another juſt as remarkable, which is the ſtatue of a virgin, very beautiful modeſt, and richly dreſſed, who is the *mother* of a God, born to enlighten the human race. Alluſions are general, and repeated among the Hindoos, but there is a particular caſt among the Talengas, that really baptize by immerſion, which is not again to be repeated; and the ſame effects are aſcribed to the ceremony, as to thoſe of Chriſtian baptiſm; between the individuals of that caſt, there were formerly the ſame diſputes, that ſubſiſted between Cyprian biſhop of Carthage, and the Pope, reſpecting re-baptiſm. In the time of Auguſtin, the famous biſhop of Hippo, the Chriſtians were accuſtomed to eat, dance weep in their funeral meetings, and in their hecatombs to perform the ſame ceremonies for the greateſt part, as the Indians do at interments in the earth, or water, and on anniverſaries; and women mourners, were likewiſe hir-

ed there, as they are here ſtill, but all the deductions to be drawn, from what I have juſt ſaid, may be falſe; wherefore I lay no ſtreſs on them. When the Bramins, are queſtioned on the ſubject, they chuſe to elude anſwering directly, and only ſay that the world is as a Parterre, that men reſemble flowers, and trees, and that God from the height of his heavens, regards with pleaſure the whole, and that to him it is an enjoyment, to ſee, that matter vegetates, and praiſes, after its manner, the ſupreme being. They add, that God has given to each, a particular method, to honour him in, which is not ſubject to change; that the law of the Bramins, s ſo entirely inſtituted for *them*, that it excludes, every other deſcription of men. But the Bramin at once ſo tolerating, proud, and haughty, ſays likewiſe, that if the ſovereign be not his friend, he is his enemy, and that it is he, who has placed the hatchet in his hand, and it is his own prerogative to denote the heads that ſhould be lopped off. And really where ever the Bramins manage affairs of ſtate, it is obſerved, that their proceedings are more cruel and tyrannical than elſewhere, and the leaſt negligences are puniſhed as ſeverely as great crimes; it is therefore true, that the miniſters of religion

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every where, are harſh, untractable, haughty, deſpotick, and ſanguinary.

SHOULD we compare, the principal benefactors of human nature, Bhrahma, Confucius, Zoroaſter, Solon, Socrates, Titus, Antoninus, Epictetus, and ſeveral others, we ſhould find a ſimilarity in their ideas, deſires, wills, and doctrines, and if nations could agree among themſelves, and forget the *names* from which they derive their denomination, it would happen that all would have nearly the ſame belief, and would thus be nearer the true one. But they will not unite. The confuſion of languages, (commenced as they affirm at Babel,) has communicated itſelf every where and became univerſal. Almoſt every ſect anathematiſes the others, and yet at the bottom, all men have the ſame belief, and differ only, in the modes of worſhip. The Platonic philoſophy, has had engraſted on it, ſeveral dogmas, by Chriſtianity, which has at length anathematized it becauſe they were no longer acquainted with Plato. In the fables even of the Parſees, which we are now acquainted with, we diſcover ſeveral reſemblances, to the patriarchs, cheriſhed by God, and even they, are perhaps, the

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ſame perſons, who are called in other nations, by the names of Oſiris, Minos, and others which we have condemned, without juſt enquiry into the matter. What we generally read of all great men, is denoted by the ſame expreſſions, and phraſes and by different terms, that have nevertheleſs the ſame ſignification, which may incline one to believe, that there is only one manner, of deſcribing them all. Thus common place expreſſions, have ſerved for all who being ſubſtantially the ſame, nevertheleſs condemn each other reciprocally. What the Parſees believe, concerning the deſtruction and reeſtabliſhment of the world, their doctrines on agriculture, population and domeſtick diſcipline, in retracing the firſt wants and duties of man, ſhew at the ſame time, that they differ in nothing, from the Bramins. Their terrors at eclipſes, comets, and all deviations from the general order of nature, have been the cauſe of the ſad prognoſtications, of both nations. And, notwithſtanding the Parſees have neither ſtatues, images, nor idols, people regard them as idolaters. To diſtinguiſh themſelves, from the other natives of India, they are always girded, with a rope of wooll or Goats-hair. When they are aſked why they adore fire, they deny the fact,

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but confeſs, they have a certain veneration for that element, only becauſe Zoroaſter, was miraculouſly ſaved by it. In the ſame manner, as European nations worſhip at Loretto the ſlipper and cup, that the Virgin mother uſed, or as at Genoa, people have a reſpect for the tail of the aſs, on which the Chriſtian legiſlator was ſeated, when he made his entry into the city of Jeruſalem, no perſon that I know has as yet been able to divine, why the Parſees never exſtinguiſh fire by water, for they only lay earth upon it. As for the ſciences of the Bramins, nothing is left to me to ſay, ſince the MOST ENLIGHTENED MAN EXISTING, has in his works, ſaid every thing reſpecting them. The ideas they have of the ſtructure of the terreſtrial globe, are ſo crude that they reveal their profound ignorance: they have in truth, only ſome vague and falſe notions, which they have received, without doubt from tradition; but they cannot give any reaſons for their aſſertions relative to the motions, reſpective, and reciprocal poſitions, of different planets, and they have never accompliſhed the calculation of an eclipſe. But how ſhould they, ſince they are entirely ignorant of any theory. The rules they uſe, have no other foundation, than that which a certain

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ſort of experience has furniſhed them with, and do not reſt on calculations; and their ignorance on the ſubject, is ſo groſs, that they contradict themſelves, ſince their phyſical ideas, are entirely contrary to the rules they uſe in their calculations, and have received from tradition. Aſk a Bramin, what is the ſyſtem of this globe, he will tell you. that its immoveable baſe is placed on a mountain of gold, or ſuſtained on the head of a cow. This abſurdity is even a religious matter among them. But how can we allow, that they underſtand aſtronomy, when we hear them advance, that the aerial ſerpents, which paſs in the void, are the immediate and phyſical cauſe of the lunar eclipſes, and that all their planets are leſs than the moon, and many other ſimilar abſurdities.

YET, there is among the Bramins, a caſt entirely ſeparated from the others, whoſe ſyſtem is entirely that of Copernicus, but wanting theory, inſtruments, and the knowledge of their uſes, they are reduced to ſay, that they have learned from their anceſtors that the globe turns on its axis, as well as all other planets, on their reſpective ones; there they ſtop, they do not reaſon. For how could theſe

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ſuperſtitious Buddas, who ſcarcely dare open their mouths to eat, and do not raiſe their eyes for fear of killing ſome living creature, defend their opinions. By the motion of their eyelids, or by their breath. Miſerable humanity! How are thou degraded, in the greateſt part of thy creatures. Some knowledge of medicine, has likewiſe been attributed to the Bramins. Perhaps there are among them, ſome who know how to compoſe a doſe and even to adminiſter it properly, for they have books that treat of phyſick, and that have preſcriptions, but they are far from having one man that is acquainted with the interior conſtruction of the human body, and the reciprocal relation ſubſiſting between all that enters into its formation and preſervation; and in conſequence, when there is any derangement they know not what is neceſſary to bring it back to its natural ſtate. The very minute diſtinctions that they make, of every the leaſt degree of ſickneſs, ſtrike people immediately, and inclines one to ſuppoſe, that they poſſeſs the art of healing, but it is only as Jargon, that they repeat continually, what they are always reading. Perhaps arithmetick is the branch, in which, they excel; their manner and diſpatch in calculating, are ſurpriſing. As to their theological ſcience, it reſembles

bles that of all other nations, in its want of clearneſs; and it cannot be otherwiſe, for they have received it from their fathers, and will tranſmit the legacy to their poſterity. But ye Bramins of the univerſe, of every kind, and colour, it is not neceſſary to be very wiſe, to be ſenſible of your ſuperſtitions, and errors, which have beſotted a great part of the human race. A being indued with intelligence, placed a little above our heads, ſo as to be able, to diſcover all men, their goings out, and comings in, and at the ſame time ſee into their interior, how would he deſpiſe, and deteſt them, or if he was ſympathetick, how he would pity them. But if he had the power, and were juſt, he would cruſh, all thoſe ſhining characters, who, uſing the name of the deity, have plunged and ſtill continue inceſſantly to involve mankind in the moſt deteſtable ſuperſtitions, which render us unhappy, during the few moments allotted to us for exiſtence, and then they muſt return into the nothing whence they iſſued. O man! man! thou vaſt nothing yeſterday, and who art not much now; to-morrow thou wilt again be nothing, as thou haſt been, and be buried in the moſt profound oblivion of eternity. So many millions and millions, who have exiſted before

us, are no longer any thing. Whence is then the foundation of our pride? Thou who weareſt the diadem, doſt thou know thyſelf, do not flatter thyſelf, thou art no longer in being, do not deſpiſe and ſpurn us, do not deceive thyſelf. And you Pontifs of every religion, what right have ye to preſcribe doctrines? Who has made you interpreters, between God and us? Prove even *once* clearly, your power, by juſt reaſonings, and not by old pretences, that a blind faith ſhould be yielded to it—Blind and imperious conductors of the ignorant who are as blind as yourſelves, do you know the origin of your power? Seek for it in the remoteſt times of the greateſt antiquity, but be not deceived, you will find it derives its origin from what is the oppoſite to ſpirit, courage, and honour, you will find it coeval with royalty, for both reciprocally ſuſtaining each other, have taken advantage of the weakneſs of our anceſtors, and have claimed rights over their bodies, wealth, and ſoul in this world, and even in the other. What circumſtances muſt have happened to have produced ſo many ſuperſtitions, beliefs and doctrines? How many Gods and Goddeſſes, how many demigods and heroes defied! conſequently how many Pontifs, ſacrificers, ſacrifices,

temples and victims? Again, how many abuſes of reaſon, abſurdities concerning the creation of the world, our exiſtence, concerning the divine nature and worſhips! Bramins, perhaps *you* ſee clear, therefore enlighten, have pity on ſo many millions of creatures, whom you continue to render unhappy; the principles of things are concealed from our moſt perſevering reſearches, wherefore we ſhall never be able to anſwer with convincing reaſons, what Bramins, and many others who are not ſo declare that the planets, and the globe we inhabit, are infinitely more ancient than they are aſſerted to be, in our ſacred books. And the theſis concerning the eternity of the world, which they ſuſtain by argument, is perhaps the only one where few difficulties and contradictions are found. Some of them believe, that creation is abſurd and impoſſible, and therefore according to them, matter is eternal. But the power is not given to man, of conceiving a being that has always exiſted, nor ſuch as ever began to exiſt by itſelf, wherefore, ſeveral have choſen to doubt of the immortality of ſouls, as ſpoken of in common, and have ſubſtituted another belief, which appears more natural to thoſe, who have not the greateſt faith in our oracles. I ſay it appears more

more natural, becauſe human reaſon, does not revolt at it, and it ſeems more conformable to the notion that we have of things. For to ſpeak truth, who is acquainted with the nature of the globe, and other very viſible and ſenſible bodies? We ſpeak much about them, but that is all. And who knows what the ſoul is; we are not capable of defining voice, ſight, hearing, the ſenſe of feeling, pleaſure, grief, the power of thought, memory and many other things; we wiſh to define the ſoul, and deſcribe it to be immortal, but wherefore might we not ſuppoſe the tranſit of the ſoul, at its ſeparation from the body, into ſome better ſituation if it has been good, or into one inferior if it has been wicked; and might not this change have taken place primarily, in our globe, and then ſucceſſively in other ſubjects and always in the form of its new habitation, where it would remain, according to cuſtom. And would not that change preſent us with a kind of immortality, at leaſt until it ſhould find itſelf again united, to its principle whatever it be, and which is the NOTHING, that others denominate GOD. For in fine according to phyſics, matter is infinite, only in abſtraction it cannot realize its axiom, and thoſe who wiſh to ſound that ſubject, loſe themſelves in the

the immenſity of nothing, or are forced to recur to the divinity, whom they do not comprehend more than Non-entity.

It would be uſeleſs to oppoſe to theſe hypotheſes, that our ignorance is demonſtrably clear as to the other globes and to their inhabitants, for that ſame reaſon, would hold againſt thoſe, who admit the reality of the EMPYREUM, and the INFERUM for immortal ſouls to be placed in, from which place no one has certainly ever come, to acquaint us of the nature of them, nor has any perhaps ever been there. If we ſeriouſly aſk, whether all the ſtars we ſee, and that we do not, which are above or beneath our planet, are inhabited or not, it is by induction or on the poſſibility that we reſt our anſwer, which does not carry conviction. We ſee them appearing as ſeparate bodies, ſuſtaining themſelves each by its own laws, and ſeveral turn on their axis, in the ſame manner as our globe. And if they contain inhabitants, they perhaps uſe inſtruments better than ours, therefore may ſee us turn, at leaſt as well as we do them. And our globe, may as likely be eclipſed to their ſight, as their's to ours; perhaps I deceive myſelf in all theſe

aſſertions,

aſſertions, but it is not the ſame as to confeſs, that the contrary opinions, are truths; and it is exactly on account of the doubts in which man is inceſſantly involved, that it is ſcarcely proper he ſhould aſſert any thing for certain; at leaſt any thing whoſe evidence does not flaſh on his ſight, and the belief of which is not offenſive to the reaſon, that man is furniſhed with. Our anceſtors were good people, ſuited to their times, we ſhould not be offended, if people ſay of them, that being ingnorant of a great many matters, they have yet admitted or rejected articles which ſhould have been neither admitted, nor rejected. Every thing in thoſe times was ſupported by ſome religious worſhip. What in the beginning happened to be only the ſlight opinion of ſome one, was adopted as a maxim, a doctrine, that at laſt kept its rank, either by prejudices, or habit, by eloquence, or devotion, or by fire, and the ſword. It was an Epidemia. People have believed different matters, becauſe ſeveral perſons had ſaid that it was proper they ſhould. The place of birth, climate, religion, and the condition of the parents, have contributed to each mode of belief, and if any individual has begun to doubt of any thing, believed by his parents,

or

or country, people have acquainted him that ſuch conduct was not permitted. If he continues to doubt he is confined, but if obſtinate, he is burned. Behold, the reaſon why in ſeveral countries, where it is not permitted to think and reaſon, ignorance reigns, with ſuperſtition and ſlavery, ſources of a thouſand iniquities, as well as of all miſeries, cabals, meanneſs, and infamy.

In ſaying, that ignorance reigns, we are perſuaded, that among the learned, we ought not to reckon, the ſpecious ſpeakers, talkers of nonſenſe, the authors of the infinite and very often ſcandalous caſes of the moraliſts; and ſtill leſs the dull compilers, of enormous volumes in folio, of a ſcience they call Theology, which they can neither comprehend nor explains to others. People ſhould in that imitate the celebrated biſhop of Hippo, who among the truths he has advanced, has the following, in ſpeaking of God---"*Scimus de Deo quid non eſt, quid autem eſt, neſcimus.*" Is it not diſagreeable after that, to ſee weak beings write concerning God, the ſoul, its immortality, and every ſort of ſpirituality, with as much aſſurance and preciſion, as if they had been the ſecretaries of the ſupreme being.

being. Woe to thoſe who withhold their belief! Where do they found that pride? Readers liſten, and I will tell you. On a Frock, on a veil arranged with ingenuity, on the materials and form of a ridiculous habit, a cord, a belt, a pair of ſandals, a little band; on their belonging to ſome corps whoſe ſcience and ſanctity and wiſdom they boaſt of, and whoſe doctrine, they blindly follow. Therefore, before we define the ſoul and its immortality, we ſhould firſt ſhew, what life is, which I eſteem to be impoſſible; ſince in nature, there are things, ſo peculiar in their properties, and ſo ſimple, that imagination, can neither analyſe, nor reduce them, to ought more ſimple, than themſelves; ſuch are life, whiteneſs, and ſo many others that people have been able to define, only by their effects. According to *Origen*, ASOMATOS, *incorporeus*, the epithet which is given to God, ſignifies a ſubſtance more ſubtile, than that of groſs bodies. And another writer, as learned, and celebrated, as he, ſays poſitively.---"*Quis autem negabit deum eſſe corpus, etſi deus ſpiritus? Non autem* (ſays he) *animam corporalem, & hic profitemur, et in ſuo volumine probamus habentem proprium genus ſubſtantiæ et ſoliditatis, per quam, quid ſentire & pati poſſit.*" If there is, but little

little reaſon, and philoſophy, in the ſyſtem of ſpirituality and immortality, of the ſoul, we cannot deny, that it is the effect of a policy very profound, and intereſted, in theologians. It was proper, to imagine a mode to preſerve a portion of man from diſſolution, that he may be rendered ſuſceptible, of recompenſe and chaſtiſement, whence we ſee, this dogma is very uſeful to thoſe, who call themſelves miniſters, and are born interpreters to the divinity, to intimidate, govern, and rob, the ignorant. Yet they confeſs at the ſame time, that the ſoul, which is immaterial will be burned, and will ſuffer the action of fre in hell, and elſewhere, and people have believed them, for it is as impoſſible that ſpirit ſhould act on matter, or produce it, as it is, that matter ſhould act on ſpirit, or produce *it*. The notion of ſpirits, imagined by the ancients and adopted by poſterity, muſt have retarded knowledge, ſince it prevents our ſeeking for the true cauſes, of the effects we ſee, and in all ages thoſe who naturally explained the phenomena of nature, have been perſecuted. In the parts of Europe where they have almoſt baniſhed that notion, knowledge appeared, and phyſics ruined theology. But here in India, where the notions of ſpirits are very predominant,

ignorance,

ignorance, is at the greateſt heigth, and notwithſtanding, a good education, or examples, or even force, ſhould diſſipate the thick darkneſs with which the Bramins are ſurrounded, enlighten their minds and inſpire them with ſhame for their ſtupidity, they will never be able to change, the nature of things; the fund will always remain; for man has from his birth a character almoſt indelible, and carries in himſelf the principles of his actions. If the ſovereign however, was obſtinate in compelling the Indians to give up their ridiculous ideas, perhaps in time he might ſucceed. But to what advantage would it be; for ſuch people are neceſſary in the world? beſides it only concerns itſelf with ſeeing the ſtate happy, and flouriſhing, which can only be, where the laws are adapted to the manners and prejudices of the nation that is to conform to them. And it is certain, that a nation cannot have ſtability, but in proportion, as the manners and laws are not in contradiction to each other, from which truth it enſues, that the different caſts and religions ought not to be governed by the ſame laws. At preſent they who govern theſe countries, have a more extended knowledge than thoſe who preceded them, relative to the public adminiſtra-

tion, they are therefore able to profit from what their predeceſſors had that was good, and to preſerve themſelves from the evils which have deprived the others of their tranquility. Thus, people being happy only by the goodneſs of the laws, and the wiſdom of thoſe who govern, it is to be hoped, that their happineſs will be perfect, in our time; but if that happineſs is only for a portion of the people, then the government muſt be defective; and if the greateſt number is ill managed by the ſmaller, though in ſuch a caſe they may be richer, yet the people are not happy.

DAILY and general experience, teaches, that with the natives of India, it is even more neceſſary than elſewhere, to diſtinguiſh what is proper to be prohibited, and what is advantageous to maintain; and by attending to it we cannot fall into error. A principle, which never ſhould be forgot, is, that authority ſeated in one country, and obedience in another too remote, is a vicious eſtabliſhment; and which muſt ſooner or later have diſagreeable conſequences, to ſome, and ſuch as are agreeable to others; and we cannot be too much impreſſed, with the perſuaſion, that the means, the moſt combined in policy, do not always effectually reſiſt

reſiſt the torrent of violence, and circumſtances. And in that caſe, there is reaſon to imagine that the ſafety of the authority that is remote, would be as ſolid as poſſible, if the government procured a greater number of troops, of its own citizens from the mother country. But, the mother country, has need of its children, for the cultivation of the lands, or its manufactures, or for its ſhips, or colonies, and cannot furniſh many for this country. Therefore if the advantage, or the neceſſity, of having here as many Europeans as poſſible, were thoroughly felt, the naturalization in England of ſtrangers, would be neceſſary, as well as the forbidding of monopolies in theſe countries on ſeveral articles: which adds to the hatred, that a part of the nation has againſt deſpotiſm, while it groans, and ſuffers from thoſe excluſive privileges.

It is not only at the preſent day, that good politicians ſay, that the foundation, of every *real* power, is agriculture; which in the Engliſh poſſeſſions of India is not ſufficiently encouraged; they enrol in their armies the claſs of huſband men, which cauſes great detriment. It is therefore, much to be deſired, that they would ſend back the people of

of the country, to the cultivation of their lands, and replace them by Europeans; which would produce an effect, that would be advantageous; and thereby another very disagreeable one would be avoided. The people who provoked the Romans by their conduct, were generally punished in being deprived of a part of their lands, as likewise (in a great degree) of their civil government; for the conquerors gave them laws, though not magistrates. The conquered, or confiscated lands, were destined to colonies sent there, and several nations authorised that custom by their conduct. The same causes, might perhaps authorize a similar custom in these countries, but in a much greater degree, than at present, from the rules in favour of those colonies of seapoys, which the government has given possessions to in several spots; and for whom the ground granted by the Company, would not suffice, if it were cultivated, and it must be said, that a great part of it, is uncultivated, since they possess not the means of labouring, which has compelled several to beg their bread from travellers. Bacon, and several other good judges, of the true interests of the English nation has announced a long while since, the necessity of the naturalization of foreigners

foreigners without their incurring the expences they now muſt pay, to procure an act of Parliament in their favour. QUEEN ANNE, who had naturalized all ſtrangers that were Proteſtants, would have merited many praiſes, if ſhe had not revoked her deed a little while afterwards. But it is the people, the nation in general, that oppoſes its intereſt, "for never have the fierce Britons, been fond of ſtrangers." It is ſufficient to read the hiſtory of their commerce, to find the moſt ſtriking traces of their roughneſs. The violent laws paſſed againſt foreigners and at length exerciſed upon the natives themſelves, demonſtrate the truth of the aſſertion. But the modern Britons, do not appear to be the ſame, nor to be ſo generally averſe to an act of Parliament, that might authorize the naturalization of all foreigners that is to ſay, that foreigners might acquire without expence, the rights of Engliſh citizens, who dwell in the dominions of Great Britain. If that were the caſe, then the mother country, might furniſh theſe countries, with a conſiderable number of men, to defend and preſerve them, and thereby ſend back to the plough, the people of the country, who are ſuited for it. To theſe troops they might give lands, with the means for cultivating them,

whither

whither they ſhould retire after ſeveral years ſervice, to poſſeſs them entirely as their own, only paying a ſmall tax. Theſe places would be nurſeries of ſoldiery, and would defend the conqueſts of the government. And, forming by degrees a numerous people, would ſerve, as an inſurmountable barrier againſt the enterprizes of foreign enemies, and the ill will of the natives. For diſcontented people will always exiſt.

In ſome years hence, the number of Engliſh children of *colour*, in theſe countries, will be conſiderable. Theſe children of both ſexes, receive an education, but cannot be admitted into the Company's ſervice, and are not reſpectably noticed. They are not even kindly treated, and very often their parents themſelves are aſhamed of having given them birth; which is certainly very unjuſt. But when they will have been multiplied to a certain point, they will then form an Engliſh colony, entirely ſeparate though in the midſt of the Engliſh nation. When their ideas are excited, and they feel the humiliation they ſuffer, in being removed from a poſſibility of entering into, the Company's ſervice, may it not happen that they will explain with vivacity

city (in the circumſtances mentioned) their ſenſe of the affront, which may occaſion terrible conſequences. "What crime, (they will ſay) have we committed? If it *be* one, it is to our fathers, that it ſhould be imputed, and it is they whom you ſhould puniſh. But why puniſh us, for the crimes of our fathers? If there is no crime, why debaſe us, by an odious excluſion?" Engliſhmen, is it then true that you have no longer any prejudices? If this be the fact, this tawny race will exiſt, augment, and form a particular nation; notwithſtanding, that nations in general, are more inclined to *feel*, than *think*, there has been, and always will be, ſome nation, (as the one we ſpeak of) that will chuſe to analize, the nature of the governing power, and, as in common people obey without reflection, and through habit, this may one day reflect, and form a ſeparate nation. The origin, and object, of national aſſociations being known, they will find themſelves injured, in their natural and lawful rights, and ſhould it confound the principles of legiſlation, with thoſe of any religion, fanaticiſm would follow and the conſequences might be dreadful. Thus, if theſe individuals, and their poſterity, unjuſtly thrown a ſide, ſhould not be happy, under the form

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of the government that rules them, they will endeavour to change it. What on their ſide, would be a juſt and natural inſurrection, will be treated by government, as revolt and rebellion. It cannot at all be doubted, that there does not exiſt a ſingle individual on the earth, that deſires not a better government, in countries, where it is more perfect, than in his own, though he may not be able, to change it. We may hope, that nothing of the kind, will take place here, but that they will be reinſtated, in their rights. As they are fixed here, not being able to go elſewhere, (ſince the country of their fathers, rejects them,) they will multiply, and in time, there will be no longer an inferiority in their number, to the Engliſh of the mother country. In forming a particular eſtabliſhment for them, which might be commodious and honorable, and in which the incitements to emulation, honour, and glory, ſhould be the *primum mobile*, we might form ſome firm bodies of troops, ready to be diſpatched any where that they may be required, and the emulation between them, and the other troops could not fail to produce the beſt effects; ſuch an eſtabliſhment, would ſerve for thoſe among them, who might not have received from their fathers, property to live decently

decently on as well as for thoſe who had, the more ſo, as they might employ themſelves, in the trade of the country, as they have no correſpondance with England, and beſides which, monopolies, and the great number of traders will otherwiſe henceforth prevent their following it with advantage.

It is an inconteſtable truth, that commerce ſhould be free and open to the whole nation. Every excluſive privilege, appears an attack on liberty. And the people, who have eſtabliſhed a government of any kind, had it in view to procure thereby the public good, which is invaded, when by monopolies, people ſacrifice the public intereſt, to that of individuals. If the Dutch had not deceived Cromwell by falſe and inſidious inſinuations, the trade, would have continued as it was, free for the whole nation. But Cromwell, who was the glory of his country, was alſo an object of execration in leaving a ſpot on its reputation, which the repentance of poſterity alone, can efface. Nevertheleſs, all the nation would not engage in ſuch a trade. For all people poſſeſs not the neceſſary knowledge, which conſiſts in a perfect

acquaintance, with men and things, and of which, the greateſt difficulty is, not in the too great multiplicity of affairs, but in the want of moderation in the deſires of the conductor. Though he ſhould ſeem to be aſſured of the honeſty of each perſon he engages with, the ſkilful merchant, ſhould take precautions, as if the contrary was the caſe. Almoſt all men being honeſt in what does not relate to their profeſſion, there will not be found many, who in the exerciſe of *it*, conform to the rules of a ſcrupulous probity. Thoſe who do, ſhould not take offence at this truth, for it does not relate to them but to thoſe whoſe vices are no leſs malverſations, notwithſtanding cuſtom may authorize them. But thoſe who have a noble idea of their profeſſion, and exerciſe it accordingly, ſhould be eſteemed as a bleſſing to ſocieties. Of this deſcription is the merchant, who during ſeveral years, has traded in Diamonds at Benares. It is LYON PRAGER, of whom I here make honourable mention, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, for he is worthy of being copied; he is rich, and his credit is very extenſive but in a much higher reſpect for his honour, than his fortune, becauſe he does not make an ill uſe of either. His word is ſacred, and his credit, (which

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he eſteems more than his intereſt,) he is as jealous of, as a brave ſoldier is of his honour; and all his actions keep him free from ſuſpicion. This merchant every year travels to Benares, at a certain ſeaſon, where he is expected by all who bring the Diamonds, which they put into his hands, with ſo much confidance, as not to fix any price; this he does himſelf, and never have the natives had reaſon, to repent of their confidence. It happened that one year, the Diamonds were at a low price in Europe, knowing which, he gave a price proportioned to what he expected to ſell them for in Europe, and none murmured. But another year, Diamonds, being more valuable in Europe, which was unknown to the natives, they would have remained content with receiving the ſame price as they had ſold at in the preceding year; but how were they ſurpriſed, when the honeſt PRAGER paid them according to the rate he expected to ſell for. Which action of that merchant as well as many other towards the natives, has gained him a reputation beyond all deſcription, and it is certain, that his credit is ſo great, and extenſive, (as far as the diſtance of 500 coſs from Benares), among the traders in Diamonds, that he could receive to the value of millions on his WORD alone.

ALL

ALL the mountains above Coſſipoor, to Hardwar, and even as far as Sirinaghur, contain in their bowels mines of Diamonds. The diamonds when found, preſent to view a kind of ferruginous mineral, and are at little depth, wherefore the neighbouring inhabitants, find them eaſily by merely breaking the ſurface which lies over them, and yet diſcovers them through the chinks of a cruſt not very ſolid, formed of ſand or earth, and alſo by the ſparkling of the diamonds. They alſo find thoſe bodies already worn, from the intemperance of the climate, or ſome other accident, which ſhews clearly the diamond in a ſeparate ſtate, detached and not adhering to any baſis. At Hardwar we find ſome of them, brought by the waters of the Ganges, that are ſuppoſed to come, from the mountains of Thibet, and people begin to ſuſpect, that the mountains of Napaul likewiſe contain ſome, but at too great a depth for the mines to be opened. It had likewiſe once been thought, that mines of gold were not to be found in Napaul, but at preſent people are of a different opinion; fear had cauſed the people of Napaul, to ſay that their country was very poor, and their mountains were entirely ſterile. But it is paſt doubt, that from the violence of torrents, there

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are found in the ravines, large pieces of gold, certainly torn from the entrails of the mountains, and not brought from elſewhere. One of them was ſhewn at Calcutta which was found at Napaul, exceeding the value of 1000 rupees. This gold, will produce iron capable of being tempered. Almoſt all the mountains preſent to the eye, a dry and barren ſoil, and the rock of them, is not extremely hard. In ſeveral places hollowed by nature the waters or induſtry, gold, is ſeen mingling, with the ſtone. At the foot of the mountains where there are any torrents, it is met with even in ſand. They likewiſe meet with very often, a white and grey mineral mixed with red or yellow ſpots; but the black we ſometimes find, is indicative of the beſt kind; for it is only neceſſary to open its ſurface, to diſcover gold of a pale yellow. Though it has ſo unfavorable an appearance, it is nevertheleſs richer, and requires leſs expence in refining, than the white. From the experience that chance has afforded, we may aſſert, that the richeſt mineral is the black, which becomes red by wetting it, or ſcratching it with iron. It is in this, that gold is found in ſtrata, of pieces of a diagonal figure, and there are ſome, weighing as far

far as five ounces, and almoſt always mixed with a cryſtalline matter, that is mineral, or metallick, and adhering to the ſpar, in form of filaments or in grains.

THE mountains of Oodipoor, Chetor, and Baria, contain mines of tin, (if not even of gold) which is in a ſtate of cryſtallization. The cryſtals are very apparent, and of different colours, but the black, are the richeſt. A Quintal of thoſe cryſtals, contains 70lb. of tin, and almoſt all of them are mixed with the mines of iron. The natives of the country do not know how to ſeparate the two metals, and their ignorance, prevents their collecting the arſenick which abounds in them. The tin is harder than that of England, and yet is more ductile. Theſe mountains are not rich in tin alone, but contain precious ſtones. What is called LAPIS LIDIUS is common. The ORPHITES of Pliny are not rare, and in general, their compoſition is of granite, in appearance of the ſame kind as that of which the Egyptian Obeliſks are formed, which is called by the ſame author SYONITES. The topazes are ſo common, that they are ſcarcely of any value there, but it muſt be confeſſed, that they

they have too great a mixture of iron and lead, which renders their colour diſagreeable. Nature is very often unjuſt in her gifts. Why has ſhe given ſo many things to inhabitants who know not even their value? Theſe ſavages, barbarians, and robbers, inhabiting the mountains of Baria, have all thoſe riches, in common with the other nations, which we have mentioned; and poſſeſs beſides, a tree, (whoſe ordinary heighth is twenty feet, without having low branches or knots; being a foot and half in diameter,) whence flows by means of inciſions, a gum not of a very glutinous quality, whitiſh, ſuſceptible of diſſolution in warm water, and which if purified might prove to be the ſame, or nearly ſo, to that which the Chineſe uſe for their varniſh, in which caſe the trade in that drug might be of ſome conſideration. The people of the country uſe it for that purpoſe, for with it they varniſh their table-ware compoſed of a foſſile ſtone, which they likewiſe procure from their mountains, in abundance. It is a kind of plaiſter, the ſame I believe that the naturaliſts call *Rubricam duriuſculam*. It is porous in a ſmall degree, compact, and yet of a lightneſs diſproportioned to its ſize.

More to the Northward of the mountains of Gedra, the natural hiſtory of the animals, preſents us with a kind of Peacock, only nine inches long, and whoſe plumage is of a more lively colour than that of the ſame bird at the Philippines. Its neck is three inches in length, and all its colours are croſſed with black, in right lines. The Beak is violet, as well as the borders of the wings; the body is red. The head, as well as the *ſpina dorſalis*, is yellow. It has a tail of fourteen feathers, its eyes inclining to an inflamed red, it has blue legs, and only three talons to its feet; in ſummer the female lays eighteen eggs, which open in forty days. Its note, nearly reſembles that of common fowls, but the taſte of its fleſh is excellent. In the province of Lahor, it is likewiſe found in abundance, but of a much larger ſize, and is more eſteemed than the peacock; they ſay in the country that Alexander puniſhed with death thoſe who killed it. The Sheicks, have as much veneration for it, as the Bramins for a Goroodo. They feed at Tennaſſar a number of them, at the public expence. As ſoon as they attain the age of nine or ten years, they change by degrees all their colours except blue, and their creſt diſappears. They are enemies by

nature

nature to all kind of reptiles on which they nevertheleſs feed as the Goroodo does, their other food is grain, and fine ſand.

It was in the Gauts, near Goa, that I met with and killed at two ſhots the Goroodo, ſo famous as to merit here a particular deſcription. It is almoſt covered with black and white feathers, its feet are ſhort and tail long, it has a yellow beak, and a creſt of the ſame colour raiſed and hollow, its long back is curved. This bird, is of a monſtrous ſize, and a very irregular figure. The eyes encircled with red eyelids ſparkle with luſtre, its legs and feet are covered with red hair, that ſweeps the ground. The length of its beak alone is nearly half a foot, all which united in the Goroodo, form a particular bird, diſtinguiſhed from every other known in Aſia, it appears as if it were a horrible abortion of ſome claſs of great eagles, peculiar to thoſe mountains. Nature has provided it with an enormous bill hollow within, which ſerves as a receptacle for food. It is certainly different, from the CALAO of Buffon; it is the terror of ſerpents, with which it nouriſhes itſelf, for it dreads neither their venom nor bite. Its dwelling is on the loftiest

eſt trees and in the thickeſt woods, being places, abounding with what conſtitutes its food. It ſoars very high into the air, and fixes its eyes on ſerpents, on which it falls, rapidly ſtriking them with its wings, and by means of its bill carries them on high, and at laſt lets them fall, and then ſwallows them. The Hindoos, from its manner of flapping its wings and its ſight, attribute an antipathy to it exactly like that of the ſerpent *Malundu* againſt rats, or of the other ſerpent *Divol* againſt frogs. They ſay, that the Goroodo, in the circle it deſcribes with its ſhadow, has the property of encloſing the ſerpents, in that circle from whence they cannot eſcape. Only once in the year, does the female Goroodo, lay its eggs in the cavity of trees, the entrance to which is cloſed with induſtry; it leaves only a paſſage, ſufficient for the male, to thruſt his bill through, which contains the nouriſhment forhis family—When the time comes of opening (in number uſually three or four) the female breaks with her bill each egg, and lets the young ones come out, and when they have acquired a little ſtrength, ſhe deſtroys the neſt, and makes a paſſage which they go through, to gain their ſubſiſtence, as ſoon as they can fly. This is what the inhabi-

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tants near the Gauts related to us. It was always the cuſtom among ignorant people to render ſacred in a certain degree, all particular, horrible and monſtrous animals, as we ſee in the mythology of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It is without doubt on that account, that the Bramins have reſpected the Goroodo, which they ſtill continue to conſider as the birds, on which Rama, or Viſſnoo are ſeated, the Deities that have ſo often aſſumed different human forms for the execution of extraordinary enterpriſes. The origin of the Goroodo, is ſo noble and aſtoniſhing according to the Bramins, that it merits being made known to the whole world. DITI, one of the two wives of CASSIAPA the firſt Bramin was as holy, as the other, KADROVO VINETA was bad, whoſe captive ſhe was. The holy people conſoled her in her affliction, and promiſed that ſhe ſhould bear children, who would ſuccour her. Accordingly ſome time afterwards ſhe became pregnant, and was happily delivered of two eggs; after waiting a long while, to ſee what would come out from them, her impatience cauſed her to open one, whence proceeded a little child with only the upper part of the body formed, that aſſured his mother, that ſhe would ſtill remain

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five hundred years a captive. The child entered into the ſervice of the Sun, and is the driver of his chariot. It was therefore, not till five hundred years afterwards, that Goroodo came out from the other egg, and aſked his mother, why ſhe remained captive, and if there were no means to deliver her from her unhappy ſtate. She ſighed, and anſwered, the only remedy was to procure her the *Ambrut*, that was carefully kept in the *Devendre Lecoſi*. Goroodo, who was a gallant lad, after having gained a complete victory over the Deutas its keepers, and having extinguiſhed the fire that ſurrounded it, brought it away to his mother. But that wicked woman, the perfidious KADROVA VINETA kept from her the *Ambrut*, and choſe to drink it along with her own children. A *Deuta*, under the figure of a Bramin, came and told her, to abſtain from profaning the ſacred draught before the neceſſary preparations, for firſt of all ſays he to the lady, you muſt waſh your body, and dreſs in clean clothes. She obeyed, and placing the *Ambrut* on the *Arſa*, (a kind of globe,) went out to purify herſelf. Juſt at that moment, the *Ambrut* was ſtolen away, and there only remained ſome ſpots of it, on the *Arſa*. The neighbouring ſerpents, having licked

licked theſe ſpots, their tongues were clove in twain. The beak of the Goroodo having touched the *Ambrut*, remained yellow, as well as the neck. VISSNOO choſe the bird, as the Greeks and Romans did the eagle for Jupiter. It was ſeated on a Goroodo that Rama delivered the earth from the perſecution of the Giants; and the *Ambrut* which is the liquor of immortality, and of which the bird had taſted, rendered both it and RAMA immortal. The mother of Goroodo, careſſed ſo often, by his immortal beak, likewiſe received the gift of immortality, and was delivered from her captivity. KADROVA VINETA, enraged at all theſe fatal events, diſappeared; perhaps ſhe is in heaven, and is the *Hair of Berenice*, which Conon has placed there.

BUT we will now quit fables, and treat of hiſtory. It appears, that Buffon has given the name of CALAO to the Goroodo, but that term only relates to the *genus*. Several naturaliſts, have called it Rhinoceros, on account of a kind of horn riſing from its beak. But that is an improper name, ſince the creſt on the bill of the Goroodo, has no reſemblance, not even a diſtant one, to a horn. But as people name things ſo capriciouſly,

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no wonder they have termed it a horn. Beſides, the Rhinoceros, has as much reſemblance to the Goroodo, as Balaam's aſs, to the Popes. Among the kind of CALAOS which Buffon mentions, one, is the kind, that is found in the neighbourhood, of Pondicherry, which has ſome reſemblance, to the Goroodo of the gauts near Goa; but yet, in ſome reſpects, differs. In thoſe gauts, there are two ſpecies of it, ſome are called *Goroodo Poquio*, others *Goroodo Vairem*. The former kind is the moſt common, and is the ſame, as that at Pondicherry, of which *Sonnerat* ſpeaks, under the name of CALAO of Malabar and Gingi. They move along hopping like crows; their voice, is hoarſe tremulous and diſagreeable. The length of the firſt ſort, beginning from the extremity of the bill, to the root of the feathers in the tail, is two feet eight inches, that of the other, one foot and a half. The creſt, or excreſcence on the bill, is of the ſame ſubſtance, and colour, as the bill itſelf; in length, it extends half way, and its heighth is twice as great, as the whole length of the bill. Its white and black plumage, is as agreeable, as ſingular.

IF the little quadruped, called by Buffon, PANGOALIN

PANGOALIM, is the ſame as the *Bicho Vergonhozo*, of the Portugueſe, which we find near Goa, what that celebrated writer has written, "that every animal with a ſhell, is oviparous," would find here, an exception. For the *Bicho Vergonhozo*, having large ſcales, produces young without their being formed from eggs. Yet his diſcription of the PANGOALIM, agrees exactly with it, the ſtrength of its tail is ſuch, as to raiſe a cheſt of ſixteen maunds weight, and in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, it can make a hole through a common wall, built of lime and bricks. Doctor Adam Burt, in his learned anatomical diſſertation, having adopted the general rule of Baffon, that "every animal with a ſhell is oviparous," would no doubt perceive his error, if he had an opportunity of inſpecting, the body of the female *Bicho Vergonhozo*, in which the *ovarium* is entirely wanting. When this quadruped ſees a man approaching, it draws inwards its four paws, and rolling itſelf up, remains immoveable. In vain people ſtrike at him, he gives no ſign of feeling, for the ſcales are ſo hard and poliſhed, that the wood, or iron he is ſtruck with, ſlips off and leaves no impreſſion. Several authors, have affirmed, that the SLOTH is only found in Ameri-

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ca; yet ſuch as *Linnæus* deſcribes it, we find it in the province of Guntoor, and in great numbers on the mountains near Chantapelly. This animal which not only feeds on vegetables, as that of America does, but likewiſe on fleſh, is larger, more ſavage, and ſtronger. It is called in the country, the Thjunan. The Rajah of Chantapelly, has tamed ſeveral.

It is at Agra particularly, that we ſee thoſe great Lizards, which ſeveral Engliſh authors have named Tokaïj. Their exterior is entirely covered with ſcales, and as ſhining as thoſe of a ſmall alligator. There are ſome of them, four feet in length, and fourteen inches in circumference. They are ſaid not to be venemous. The Jattes, eat their fleſh, and extract oil from it. I have ſhot ſeveral, even in the garden of Tag-Gheng, and having left them expoſed to the air, the crows alone approached to eat them, as did ſmall worms and inſects, who having only licked the blood and foam, they all fell dead around the body. Which inclines one to think, that it is not very certain that they are not venemous. At twelve coſs ſouth from Delhi, and eight from *Cuttub-minar*, there is a little barren,

barren and ſandy mountain, which nevertheleſs affords nouriſhment to a ſort of red ants as big as bees, from which the ancient Emperors had the oil extracted, that has been celebrated for producing certain effects in cold, weak, and ſluggiſh conſtitutions. At the foot of the mountain, is a mine of ſuperb cryſtals, that are found in ſuch large pieces, that people produce fine works from them, for the ſervice of the table. They in no reſpect yield to the mineral cryſtals of Bohemia. The Gugers inhabiting thoſe ſpots bring them to Delhi, and by means of a good eſcort, one can go to the diſtrict in perſon.

THROUGHOUT almoſt every part of the Mogul empire, the ground is ſuited to the cultivation of ſugar, indigo, and cotton, and in ſeveral parts ſilk ſucceeds pretty well. The manufactures of indigo encreaſe every year, and the profits begin to diminiſh, which is natural. Thoſe who do not cultivate the plant but purchaſe it from the natives, do not riſk ſo much as others from the intemperance of the ſeaſons, but are eaſily deceived, as they very often buy other leaves mixed with thoſe of the indigo plant. The deceit is not perceived

till after all the proper operations but little indigo is produced from them, and that of a bad quality. Beſides, the rents of the lands in the Engliſh poſſeſſions are in general too high, to permit perſons to receive profits equal to the riſkes and fatigues. If in the ſtates of the Nabob Vizier affairs were well regulated, and if the people knew how to act on certain occaſions, the gain might be great. The indigo named from Agra, accounted twenty per cent. better than other kinds may be cultivated there with the greateſt ſucceſs. For not only is the ſoil better for that plant, but the annual rents of land and labour, do not amount to half, what is paid elſewhere. If any one choſe to form an eſtabliſhment at Agra for that purpoſe, he would encreaſe his funds to four times their original value in two years, and encreaſe them ſixfold in three. Almoſt all the tract of land beyond the Jumna, (as far as the province of Mallua, which may be included) naturally produces that precious plant.

Sugar, another article become neceſſary, the cultivation of which is not ſufficiently encouraged, will augment in quantity and quality, when the difficulties of its cultivation and trade ſhall have ceaſed.

ed. Theſe articles are ſuſceptible of a conſiderable augmentation. But the country bordering on the Ganges cannot ſupply Europe, with the neceſſary quantity. The Dowab, and the eaſtern banks of the Jumna, and the Narbuddah, are certainly the moſt fertile parts, and well deſerve attention. Till thoſe parts are cultivated, the city of Allahabad, might be the emporium of all the higher country. The beſt ſugar in India, is without contradiction that of Lahor, and the whole country inhabited by the Sheiks; it might be brought as far as Allahabad, if methods were uſed for freeing the roads from thieves, which might be accompliſhed by ſome flying bodies of light cavalry, the expence of which the trade would ſuſtain. Theſe articles of trade, as well as every ſort of grain, would fill the warehouſes of Calcutta, and the city of Allahabad would be the reſidence of the agents of trade for the preſidency.

But in the Nabob Vizier's dominions, there is beſides, a great inconvenience, to which it would be neceſſary firſt to apply a remedy. If any native, debtor to an European, (be he even an Engliſhman,) refuſes to pay his debt, it is rare that he is forced

forced to do it. It is not in thoſe tribunals that juſtice and regularity can be boaſted of, and the merchant who may have advanced money according to cuſtom to the peaſants for articles of trade, will neither obtain them, nor have his money returned, unleſs the natives be in the humour to be honeſt. It is true, that the Nabob Vizier is independant, and in appearance, receives not the law from the ſtrangers; yet if he is ſo good an ally of the Engliſh, he ought to favour them in rendering them juſtice. But if it be aſked, why the Engliſh merchants trade in his country? his conduct is equivalent to aſſerting, that he does not chuſe they *ſhould*; which is diſcouraging to the trade of his nation in general.

I HAVE obſerved, that every where people throw away the groſſer parts of the opium, after having manufactured it, and reduced it into a paſte. People might derive advantage from it for China, and ſtill more for Cochin China, and all the adjacent coaſts, and iſlands. We may fix the ſale of it, at two lacks of rupees per annum; at leaſt in Behar, and in the eſtates of Nabob Vizier, and Benares, if people employed themſelves in compoſing a liquor,

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in making which exactneſs was much attended to. I have made an experiment on a ſmall quantity in Mallua where opium abounds, which ſucceeded very well. Should people frequent that province a little, they will readily perceive, that a very lucrative trade might be carried on there. Thoſe will be fortunate who firſt commence this trade, and will not be long in enriching themſelves, there would only be room for apprehenſion, that the opium and indigo of the eaſtern high countries, would ſuffer from that of Mallua becoming an article of trade; which the Company ſhould it long exiſt, could not prevent, without multiplying all the precautions in uſe, in the Gulph of Cambay, and on the Malabar Coaſt.

The Rhubarb, and Ipecacuana, which the mountains every where in the Northern parts of India produce, would be a ſaving to the mother country, of the money ſhe expends for theſe articles, which are brought from Tartary, via Perſia, Ruſſia, and Turkey. The roots of the Rhubarb, growing on the gauts near Goa, and the mountains of Chitor, and Oodipoor, are ſo large as to weight three pounds notwithſtanding their being rather porous. Their bitter taſte and ſmell are

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ſtronger than that which is found in ſimilar drugs from Tartary, yet the effects are leſs powerful. Two ſcruples of good Tartarian Rhubarb, are as powerful as a Drachm and a half of the kind produced on the mountains of Hindooſtan. But I believe that defect, ſhould be attributed to the want of attention to its cultivation, otherwiſe it would be as valuable as the other. On the contrary, I believe the Ipecacuana ſtronger in its effects, than that which is commonly uſed in Europe; for a half ſcruple or fifteen grains of the Indian, produces generally the ſame effects on a perſon, that *two* ſcruples of the other kind do. It is ſo luxuriant as to deſtroy all the other little plants around it.

As to coffee, it is certain that the ſhrub ſucceeds wonderfully in Mallua, the territory of Goa, and throughout Viſiapore. Were its cultivation encouraged, it is thought that enough would be produced for India conſumption, and in time a quantity might be ſpared for exportation. At Goa, ſeveral cultivate (though negligently) ſome thouſands of trees, and each on an everage produces near two pounds of the berry.

SHOULD the Engliſh poſſeſſions in Bengal and on the Coaſt, ever be in a ſtate of independance, they would form the richeſt power exiſting, and might likewiſe become the happieſt. The forces it might maintain, would place it beyond apprehenſion. They would not be under the neceſſity of deriving ſupplies from Europe, though every European nation, would contend in bringing to them, what they could deſire. The number of Britiſh ſubjects, of every ſex and condition in India, would encreaſe, and in a greater degree if the general naturalization of ſtrangers, was adopted. Hindooſtan could furniſh ſubſiſtence for ſix times more inhabitants than it now contains. In that caſe, there would be reaſon to expect a happy improvement in the civilization of the natives. Whether under ſuch circumſtances, a revolution of that nature would be good or bad for the Engliſh reſiding there, they alone can tell. Notwithſtanding, there is not the leaſt appearance of ſuch a revolution, the precautions the Engliſh government takes to prevent it, are too prudent to admit of their apprehending it. Beſides all the Engliſh ſhew the greateſt attachment for the mother country, and eagerneſs to return to it. Therefore

fore the ſuppoſition does not relate to thoſe who are now in India, but thoſe who may arrive there. Every age produces ſimilar revolutions, and ſome circumſtances may occaſion, what we have here talked of as a mere ſuppoſition.

It would then happen that people would examine the mines abounding in all ſorts of minerals, which they might eaſily work in many of the mountains. An intelligent man ſent to different places, expreſsly for this purpoſe, might ſatisfy his employers, and without travelling far would find the exterior ſigns which indicate and characteriſe veins of ore, and very rarely deceive. Yet the vegetation of the country is ſingular, if it be true what the experienced in mineralogy teach, that the ſoil charged with minerals produces hardly any plants, and thoſe which vegetate thereon, are weak, dry, and languiſhing. The metallick vapours that exhale, generally drive animals away, and we ſee few or none ſtop on the ſpot; particularly, when the mine is not deep. The ſprings that flow from ſuch a ſoil, are always mixed with mineral ſubſtances, and can never ſerve as common drink, for they imbibe in their courſe, a part of the mineral matter, which

which was ſuſpended or diſſolved. In examining thoſe waters and their ſediments, we may judge of the kind of mineral in the earth, and people without doubt would find, the moſt valuable kinds, which would furniſh every variety of ore in abundance, and by augmenting the cultivation of lands, would extend trade throughout the globe. All theſe clear and manifeſt ſigns ſhew themſelves almoſt every where in the mountains, that we have mentioned.

The ſuppoſition we have here juſt made, is not a deſire or wiſh that ſuch a change ſhould take place, for really we wiſh only for that ſtate which is beſt, and moſt convenient, and likely to produce a felicity more univerſal, and if poſſible extending to the whole human race. BIAS, that celebrated philoſopher, who was one of the ſages of antiquity ſaid, that it was a diſorder of the mind, to wiſh for impoſſible things. Would that of deſiring univerſal happineſs, be one? Our wiſhes are directed to that end, we even dare requeſt it of all the Gods, (or of him whom we conſider as the deity,) in the ſincerity of our heart: And deſpiſing in a great degree, horrible egotiſm, we pity the egotiſts without fear-

ing them. The ſame BIAS, ſaid to ſome impious people, who invoked the Gods when in dread of ſhipwreck, "Be ſilent that they may not perceive, *you* are here in the Bark, for otherwiſe ſhipwreck is inevitable. Thus the prayers of the egotiſts to the Gods, are perhaps impieties, ſince they really reſpect, only their own *particular* happineſs." "Let them be ſilent then, (ſaid BIAS) that the Gods may not perceive their exiſtence." The Latin Poet of Anvers, *Gaſpard Barle*, during his illneſs imagined himſelf to be glaſs, and dreaded being broken when people came near him, at other times he believed himſelf butter, or ſtraw, and dared not approach the fire, for fear of being melted or burned. But he was not what he thought, and thereby excited the laughter, or pity of ſpectators:—but he was ſick!

When *Francois Mathieu de Beauchateau*, fled from the tyranny of the Queen, mother of Louis XIV. and ſought refuge with *Cromwell*, he preſented to him ſeveral plans, that he might uſe to render the whole world happy, by the means of his power and proſperity, which were not accepted, as that was not *Cromwell's* deſign. *Beauchateau*, afterwards

terwards went into Perſia, and it is thought that nothing has ever been heard of him ſince, but there is ſome reaſon to believe that he changed his name, as well as his dreſs, and ſettled as a philoſopher, on the ſouthern ſhore of the Caſpian ſea, where he inſtituted a ſchool, and had a great number of diſciples, whom he inſpired only with the deſire of ſeeing the human race happy; he had ſucceeded ſo well there, that the country all around his abode, was filled with inhabitants really happy. It is then poſſible, to ſucceed in that point, and it is permitted to wiſh it, without being mentally diſordered. But the felicity that *Beauchateau* had diffuſed in thoſe countries did not continue long. The laſt great troubles, that the Afghans cauſed in Perſia, made it diſappear, yet it was there that *Shah Thamas*, ſon of the dethroned Sultan *Shah Huſſein*, ſought refuge. We find in the public library, in the ſtreet of the Divan at Conſtantinople, ſeveral Perſian and Arabian manuſcripts, that make mention of the anecdote; they were brought away by the Oſmanlis, with other booty, after the maſſacre of *Thamas Kouli Khan*.

We cannot finiſh this work without ſcru-

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pulouſly examining, what the ancients have advanced in ſpeaking of the Ethiopians of Aſia. *Herodotus* formally diſtinguiſhed thoſe of Aſia, from thoſe inhabiting Africa. By *Procopius*, Ethiopia is called India, but ſimilar names for different people, muſt have cauſed confuſion in hiſtory. *Chuſiſtan*, is perhaps the country where the Ethiopians firſt dwelled. The learned Huet, in his hiſtory of the terreſtrial paradiſe, proves that in the Bible, Ethiopia is meant by the land of Chus. The Greeks of thoſe times, concerning themſelves but little with Geography, named all the people, who had black or dark complexions, Ethiopians; which is the reaſon, that the people of Colchos are called by that name, as likewiſe their country Ethiopia. But *Ptolomy* did not fall into like errors; on the contrary, we owe to him the moſt exact, and methodical diviſion of ancient Ethiopia that has been produced, and it does not appear, that he places the land of CHUS, as *Huet* had done, but very properly in CHUSISTAN, a province afterwards belonging to the empire of the Perſians. As hiſtory acquaints us of ſeveral matter generally attributed to the Ethiopians, or Indians, who were never the ſame people, we often fall into error, in attributing

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to one nation, what reſpects the other, and the hiſtory of the philoſophy of both, is no leſs uncertain. Really, there is no monument worthy of faith, exiſting in theſe days, on the ſtate of the ſciences and arts of ancient Ethiopia; it is only by induction and probability, that people have treated the ſubject, before JAMES BRUCE viſited that country.

THE Ethiopians maintain that they are more ancient than the Indians, becauſe their country is more expoſed to the rays of the ſun, which gives life to every being; ſuch having been their pretenſions concerning their origin, they can only be conſidered as a colony of Egyptians. The practice of circumciſion, enbalming, dreſs, civil and religious cuſtoms, were the ſame in both. Ammon, Pan, Hercules, and Iſis, their common Gods, their idols, and myſtical characters, are ſimilar. An equal degree of uniformity prevails in their principles, and diſtinctions of moral good and evil, immortality, and the tranſmigration of ſouls: Their clergy. the ſame, the form of their ſcepter, a ſandal. A thouſand ſimilar circumſtances prove, that the Ethiopians are Egyptians, from whom without doubt, they derive their political, and ſcienti fic

tific knowledge, ſince they were themſelves incapable of communicating it to the latter. And yet though the Ethiopians acknowledge themſelves inferior to the Indians, they have ever maintained themſelves to be ſuperior to the Egyptians; this ſupports the opinion that they owe *them* every thing, and the former nothing; ſuch is the general tendency of man towards pride and ingratitude! In Homer's time the Ethiopians were known and reſpected by the Greeks, on account of the innocence, and ſimplicity of their manners. According to this prince of Poets, Jupiter went amongſt them, and with him all the Gods, but when the invention of aſtrology, aſtronomy, and ſeveral other ſciences, were attributed to them, it appears from that period, that in ſaying Ethiopians, one would be underſtood to mean Indians, or Chaldeans; for the appellation of *Abyſſinian*, applies in the Chaldean language to the inhabitants of a country ſituated between two rivers, which prevents them from quitting the ſpace thus incloſed; likewiſe in the oldeſt writings, and by the remoteſt tradition, that which is called Ethiopia or Abyſſinia is more correctly termed Agaſſinia, (the inhabitants of which are Agaſſinians), which means liberty,

liberty and independance. It is the conſequence, or effect of the corruption of words, which (in the lapſe of centuries, by the change of ſome letter, from cuſtom, ignorance, or malice), have furniſhed other ideas and notions of their ſignification. It were much to be wiſhed that the learned, who employ themſelves ſo advantageouſly and ſucceſsfully in *Aſiatic Reſearches*, and who have already illuſtrated and cleared up many points of literature, ſcience, and hiſtory in that part of the world, would communicate that information, to thoſe who are otherwiſe employed, upon points which make it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the Ethiopians from the Indians; perhaps after the cloſeſt examination upon this ſubject, that Peninſula might be diſcovered to have given birth to many celebrated heroes, who were imagined to have been natives of Ethiopia, Egypt, or even the regions adjacent to theſe two countries.

To reſume at the end of this volume what has been ſaid relative to the general liberty of commerce for every individual of the nation; it has been obſerved that many able merchants who have been Directors of Companies, after having retired

tired from them and trade, have imagined they bore teſtimony of the truth in their public and private converſation and in their writings, by declaring that excluſive Companies were by no means favorable to the intereſt of the nation. Perhaps the Eaſt India Company did not do much ſervice to their country by ſending out in 1670, from England to the Indies a Colony of Dyers, Silk Drawers, and Weavers, to perfect the Indian manufacturers, and to make them acquainted with the Engliſh taſte; by this means they created, or much encreaſed an unneceſſary want in their country.

At one view of the hiſtory of the Southern Company, it will be difficult to perceive the exiſtence of a commercial body; and very little affinity will be found between their actions and the pretended plan for their inſtitution in 1710. Its privilege of excluſive trade, comprehended all the eaſtern and ſouthern coaſt of America from Orenoque, and all the weſtern coaſt from Pole to Pole. To this time they are known to have tranſacted but very few commercial affairs of any conſequence, they have confined themſelves to furniſhing the Spaniſh Colonies with ſlaves, and to the lading of licenſed

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ſhips. But inſtead of commercial enterpriſes, we ſubſtituted bank tranſactions, ſtock jobbing, and loans to government, which owed it at one time to the amount of thirty four millions ſterling. It ended fatally and tragically, but it will be ever famous, for the ſcheme it formed of paying off the national debt.

THE annals of the Levant Company impreſs us with very unfavorable ideas of an inſtitution, eſtabliſhed from a period, which may (with a reference to commerce) be deemed ſomewhat barbarous; when Miniſters, powerful favorites, even Kings themſelves, made a deteſtable traffic of the natural rights of citizens, ſome of whom they diſpoſſeſſed of their property, to diſpoſe of it, to the covetouſneſs of others. No commercial ſociety of thoſe times can be named, which did not ſubmit to an excluſive privilege to trade, London alone, was in poſſeſſion of all the advantages of export and import, and has retained them to this day, not however without ſome difficulty. They found means to ſilence the complaints of the nation, but they have never been able to conceal, the bad conſequences of an *excluſive* Company, and are reproach-

with the ſame policy, which rendered the Dutch ſo deteſtable, when they burnt or threw into the ſea, great quantities of pepper, nutmegs, &c. the nation therefore conſider the ſpirit of monopoly as deſtructive, and a misfortune to the people.

FREE trade on the contrary excites competition, and conſequently obliges the merchant to content himſelf with moderate profit, hence follows the happineſs of the people. Without entering into the detail, it is ſaid in a few words, that five excluſive Companies in England, have made themſelves maſters of three fourths of the known world, and that the free trade of the nation is confined to Europe and ſome limited poſſeſſions elſewhere. Perhaps at that time it might have been neceſſary, at preſent, it is not ſo; liberty is requiſite. Free commerce ſhould be every where allowed. In trade, liberty gives birth to induſtry, the conſumption of thoſe things which are rendered reaſonable from competition are the final cauſe of the conſumption. The employment of men, and population, the only active creating and maintaining principle in a ſtate. Thus, trade rendered free, will be ſtill more reſpected, than it is at preſent, and if from the ſpirit of competition, neceſ-

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ſary and luxurious productions abound, the price will be eſs, but happineſs and content more general. The form of the Britiſh Conſtitution tends viſibly to direct the minds of men towards the public good, the ambition of attaining to the honor and conſideration which attends the rank of Member of Parliament, inſpires every citizen with a degree of emulation productive of the happieſt effects; every citizen might juſtly aſpire to that, and ſtill higher honors if the means of corruption did not exiſt, and if venality were abſolutely proſcribed the buſineſs would go on ſtill better. Citizens who in the Houſe of Commons ſhould have defended with vigour and magnanimity, the rights of the nation would be ſilent, if the King called them up to the Houſe of Lords, and the aim of their eloquence would be changed, thus the conſtitution would ceaſe to be the favorable to the intereſt of the nation, it is the univerſal and unceaſing cry, that excluſive Companies are highly prejudicial to its intereſt and inimical to its liberty; the ſpirit of commerce, having ſeized all nations the event will be, that ſome of them will retake from the others, the Branches which naturally belong to them; that being the caſe, the Engliſh finding themſelves maſters

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of this immenſe extent of country, fertile in productions and induſtry, ought to make themſelves the only commercial nation. But this tract of land is much too extenſive for the trade of a ſingle Company, commerce ought either to be more general than it is, or (which would be ſtill better) entirely free for every individual of the nation. The Company well know, that they alone are not competent to conduct it entirely, it is therefore neceſſary, that other free citizens of a free conſtitution ſhould equally ſhare it. This liberty and competition would infallibly give birth to new combinations for extending the branches of commerce now exiſting, or creating new ones; all will not be equally unfortunate as Elton and Hanway, the examples of others point out the means of ſeizing the opportunity and the circumſtances of time and place. In the mean time this not being as the nation wiſh, in what does the public good conſiſt? The profits of uſury carried on without bounds or end by the rich, to the prejudice of the ſtate, and confined to a very ſmall number of individuals, have increaſed the unequal diſtribution of riches. Nevertheleſs every ſubject has paid his proportion of the ſums contributed to the wants of the ſtate, and his intereſt likwiſe to

thoſe who have advanced it, inſomuch, that the richer *they* become, the more the former are impoveriſhed; moreover, the repeated neceſſities of the ſtate have augmented its difficulty of recovering from the poor, and at the ſame time its dependance upon the rich, on every occaſion that Miniſters are neceſſitated to borrow. And yet the reputation of the national eſtabliſhed credit, is extended as far as exceſſive abuſe could carry it; even ſtrangers having placed conſiderable ſums in the public funds have contributed at the leaſt more than one quarter towards the national debt; thus at a time when the nation imagine themſelves much richer than every other, they are undeceived upon ſeeing or learning the large ſums which are remitted from time to time, to ſtrangers for the intereſt of their money in the funds, and yet the principal is due, notwithſtanding it has been paid in the intereſt. When WILLIAM aſcended the Throne of Great Britain, the national debt, ſcarce amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, and at his death, it had riſen to ten hundred thouſand. Queen ANNE did not reign quite thirteen years, and at the time of her death the national debt amounted to more than fifty three millions ſterling; great expectations were formed that the debt

debt would be diminiſhed when GEORGE the firſt reigned peaceably thirteen years, but he left it much in the ſame ſtate. At length it roſe to an enormous degree, and at this day it may be calculated at nearly 100,9560,100 livres, the intereſt of which muſt be paid. It may be aſked then, where are the riches of the ſtate? Where are the riches of the nation? Individuals of it are not permitted to trade freely in the Engliſh poſſeſſions, to gain wherewithal to contribute to the relief of the ſtate. Perhaps there is ſome myſtery upon this head; thoſe who adviſed WILLIAM to ſecure the affections of his people by making himſelf maſter of their fortunes by public loans, were certainly no friends to the nation, ſuch an expedient worthy a Machiavel was very ſerviceable to Popes, to thoſe who wiſhed to reduce the Romans to unbounded ſubmiſſion, but was certainly little adapted to a nation who feel, and reſent. Nevertheleſs WILLIAM's ſucceſſors readily adopted a policy, but too favorable to the royal authority; the complaints of the nation were impotent and quickly ſmothered, three Companies were the ſprings which raiſed the bulk of the national debt. The Engliſh nation will never be what it might, if it does not

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fall upon ſome effectual means of getting rid of its debts, and by that means relieving itſelf from the enormous intereſt and free the revenues of the ſtate from their obligations; it has been ſeveral times attempted but has never ſucceeded, they have aimed to ſome purpoſe at increaſing the mortmain funds, but they have not amortized them effectually. The nation cry out that the three Companies appear too much devoted to government, or rather to the advantages they derive from lending to it, and their intereſt permits them to replace to the government the great profit which they then make of their excluſive privileges, giving the miniſter too great an advantage over the nation, and forming by their effects a powerful and reciprocal tie frequently without the participation of Parliament, and yet it appears that an inſurmountable fatality oppoſes itſelf to the diſcharge of this debt. In the Parliament every thing conſpires to this fatality. The members on the ſide of the nation, like thoſe of the Court party, unite in retarding this event. For if they are proprietors of lands, they oppoſe being burthened with taxes, and if they are proprietors of the debt, they oppoſe it equally for the ſame reaſon, and becauſe they have an intereſt in not being reimburſed.

burſed. If what the preſent miniſter has begun to do relative to this buſineſs, is carefully and conſtantly followed up, it is to be hoped, that in leſs than a century the national debt will be diſcharged. In a very long letter which I addreſſed to *Lord North* when I was in Europe, on the then actual ſtate of the American war, I was convinced according to his ſtatement, that if one part of the money which had been expended, had been employed in promoting the *real* intereſt of the nation, which was almoſt the ſole miſtreſs of an immenſe continent the revolution would never have taken place, the nations would not have ſeparated, the blood of the citizens cutting each others throats amongſt them, would not have been ſpilled, the national debt would not have been encreaſed, the Britiſh ſubjects would have been more numerous and free by nature and by conſtitution, and not by force. In ſeveral converſations which I have had in company with the preſent miniſter *William Pitt*, when I was in London, I propoſed to him ſome plans, which might produce a ſufficient fund for diſcharging the whole of the national debt in a very ſhort time, but it appears either that the miniſter has adopted a contrary ſyſtem, or that ſuch events as would be favorable to the realizing

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it have not yet preſented themſelves. Since the reduction and cruſhing of Tippoo, there is abſolutely no power in the ndias whom the Engliſh need dread, and it is only from one of thoſe accidents which ſeldom happen, that they would have cauſe for fear. If for inſtance, Timur Shah entered Indoſtan, with two or three hundred thouſand men, under the pretext of replacing Shah Alem, or one of his ſons, his forces would encreaſe in proportion as he advanced, the Siques would not be able to oppoſe him. If with the authority, and in the name of the Mogul Emperor, he ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with the Marattas, the Napaulois, Patans, and with ſome Rajas, if added to these ſome European nation, joined itſelf, in ſuch a caſe the Engliſh Indian Government might find itſelf embarraſſed. And if to prevent a bad accident, the actual ſituation of affairs permitted the making advances and arrangements with the living Emperor, it would be equally ſo to make propoſals advantageous to the Company, and ro receive them from it; ſince in the public orders and on the money, they ſtill print and ſtrike his name, it may be very well believed, that he has not forfeited his rights, but that he may regain them by any fortunate event. If it

was propoſed to him to give up in any form whatſoever his right over the Doab, the province of Mallua, and over the Decan, providing ſuch and ſuch other conditions as ſhould ſecure to the Engliſh their new poſſeſſions, and at the ſame time leaving him a ſufficiently conſiderable revenue in other provinces, and a brigade of good ſeapoys for his guard, then the revenues of the nation, (not of the Company,) would encreaſe enormouſly, and the ſurplus after the neceſſary expenditure, would ſerve to diſcharge a part of the national debt. It might be wagered, that the Emperor would accept this propoſal without heſitation, and that if Nizam Ali-kan would not ſubmit himſelf, it would be but the buſineſs of a campaign to force him, and to divide at leaſt the innumerable treaſures he poſſeſſes at Golconda, and which would ſpeedily contribute to diſcharging another part of it; the Mahrattas alone would prove a ſufficiently powerful obſtacle, but this power has only tails, and ſcarcely any heads, and little is wanting, that every thing ſhould be attended with the beſt ſucceſs to beat them; it would only be neceſſary to encreaſe a little their internal diviſions. No European nation appears at preſent in a ſtate to interfere in the affairs of the Indias; thus

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the field is open for the acquirement of riches and glory, and what is ſtill more, the means and the opportunity of making ſo many thouſand Indians (who wiſh for the Engliſh government) happy. Another part of the debt would be diſcharged by the China expedition ſpoken of in the firſt volume. What fine things! What chimerical ideas! Yes, they are fine things, and may be realized, if the government will ſet about it effectually; if it forms an alliance in a manner with the Sics, and with ſome Rajas, for the reſt, if it does not take place ſooner or later, it makes the ardent wiſh of all thoſe who feel themſelves drawn by inclination and attachment towards the intereſt of the Engliſh nation, and who are anxious for its proſperity, and public and private happineſs.

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